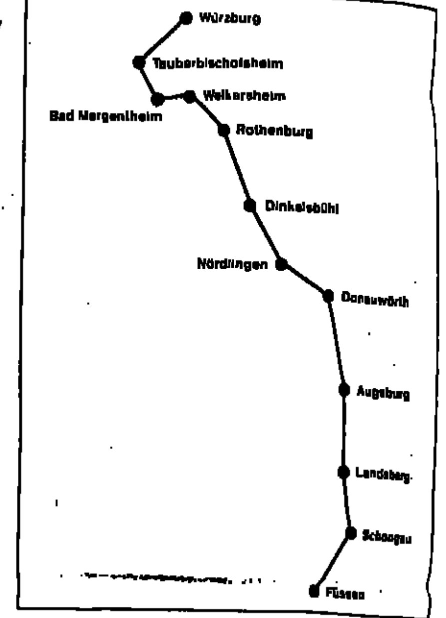
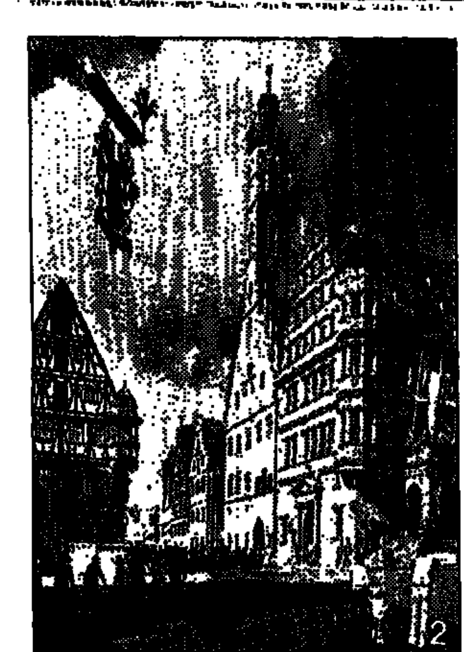
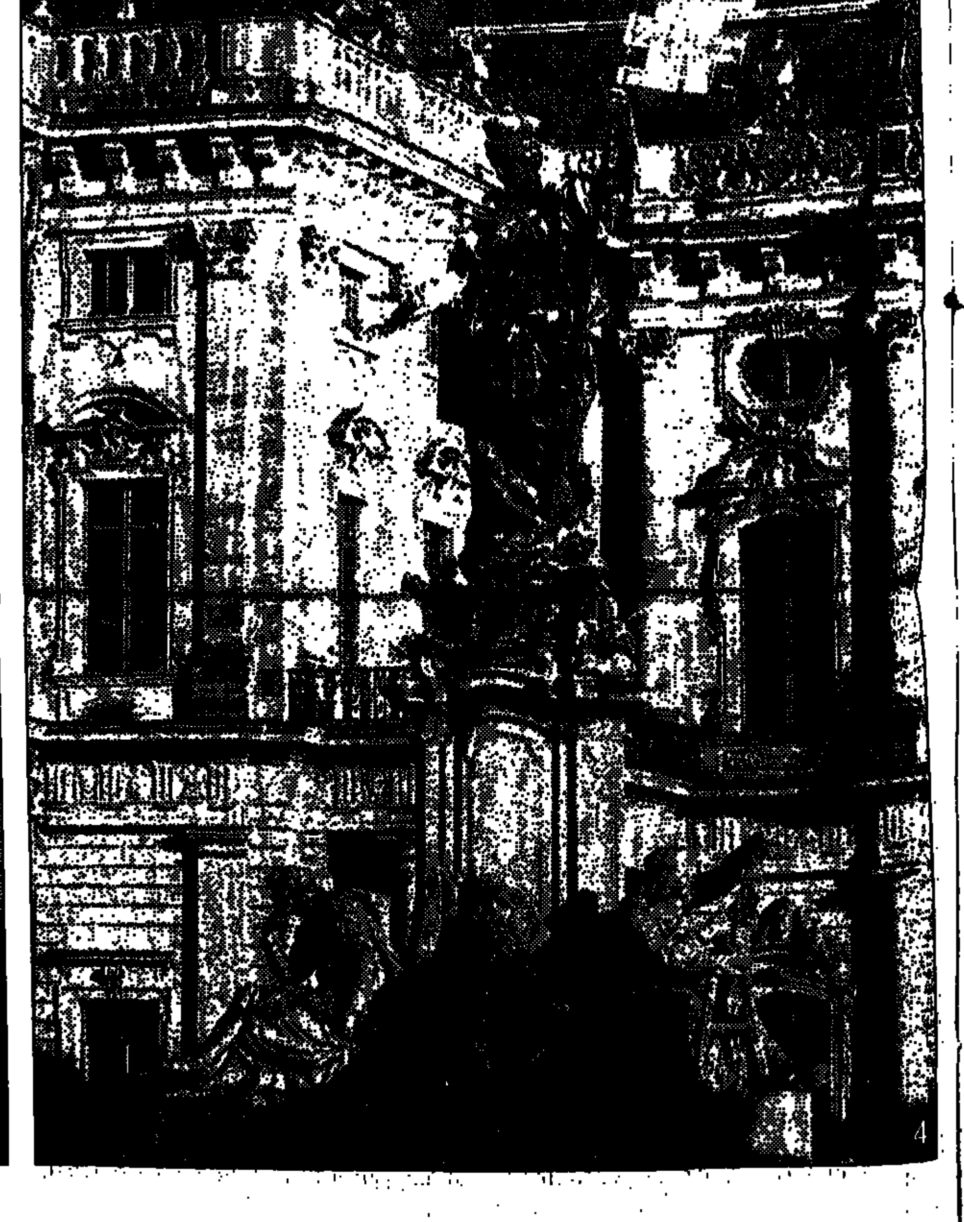


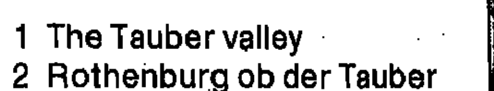












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Stability the aim in Europe – but history is setting its own pace



The great powers' uniform response to popular movements in Eastern Europe and Germany consists of visions initially intended to stem the tide of change in Europe, a process that has cast diplomatic procedures aside.

Nato Foreign Ministers, meeting in Brussels, were in no position to forecast, let alone to guarantee, that the bid would work.

No-one wants to lower "fire curtains" now the intra-German border has been thrown open and travel in both directions over Christmas and the New Year can be expected to fall little short of unification.

The key figure at the Brussels Nato summit was US Secretary of State James Baker.

After the "depressing" insight into his problems that Mr Gorbachov gave the US at the Malta mid-Med summit, America as the key superpower feels bound to advocate both its own legitimate interests and the Soviet Union's.

That is probably the most amazing repercussion of the revolution east of the Elbe. Stability aid is the keyword. It leads to serious and strange, not to say incredible developments.

One such development was the visit Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze paid Nato secretary-general Manfred Wörner in Brussels.

The second, equally important part US "New Europe" and "New Atlanticism" diplomacy has to play consists of a large-scale attempt to reconcile its Western allies' interests.

This is needed because the prospect of political change in Central Europe has led to irritation in connection with fundamental values such as the right of self-determination.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher preferred not to comment to correspondents on the speech to the National Assembly by his French opposite number, Roland Dumas, in which this right was made out to be subject to a plebiscite by the "other European countries."

It was, however, clear that a majority of Bonn's Nato allies were not prepared to countenance any such relativisation of political values.

America's views on self-determination are clear and positive. It is felt to be indivisible and an unconditional principle.

As a leading State Department official put it, the United States had no intention of arriving at Metternich-style "Karlsbad decisions" which would limit the Germans to a special status within the CSCE process. Limitations would apply to German unification in practice and in evaluating Helmut Kohl's 10-point plan. In keeping with America's allies, Mr Baker advocated subordinating operational Deutschlandpolitik to the overriding interest in stability of pacts and of East-West relations as a whole. This context, which is not entirely free from contradictions, makes it particularly clear how hard it is to reconcile the aims of German moves toward freedom with the caution counselled by the great powers. The ring of institutions and conferences that is closing round Germany grows ever wider now the Americans have "discovered" the CSCE process – the Helsinki accords and the 1975 Final Act – as a comprehensive means of ensuring stability.

The 35 states that signed the Final Act will, as Herr Genscher hinted during the Nato conference, have to arrive at conclusions from the process of change in Europe, maybe next year, in their capacity as guarantors of a future European security system.

They include Nato and Warsaw Pact countries, the European Community, other European countries, the two superpowers and Canada. It remains to be seen whether German interests can be satisfactorily looked after beneath this jumbo umbrella.

It may end up with a kind of Congress of Vienna passing judgment on events comparable with those of 1848.

The absolute primacy of stability, as proclaimed in Brussels, can lead to deformation of the will of the people. There is certainly a constant risk of this happening.

It is heralded by the "suzerainty" of pacts and of the European Community where processes of movement in Europe are concerned.

Creativity must be superimposed on the brakes and safeguards unless fresh inflexibility is to come in the Cold War's wake.

Nato Foreign Ministers agreed to adopt, in their communiqué, the statement on Germany adopted by European Community leaders in Strasbourg. They did so with a grain of salt.

The Strasbourg declaration began with a clear statement that "the German people is regaining its unity in free self-determination," then went on to add a plethora of conditions.

There may seem to be no chance of thinning out these conditions, so German policy must seek to accentuate German interests.

The primacy of stability is and will remain a hypothesis. It is an attempt to regulate a dynamic reality, and no more.

Living history is going its own way, with the powers following in its footsteps and not setting the pace.

Herbert Kremp
(Die Welt, Bonn, 15 December 1989)



Why the hurry, chum? (Cartoon: Behrendt/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)



Kohl in Budapest

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) in Budapest where he was welcomed by Hungary's Prime Minister, Miklos Nemeth. During his three-day visit, Kohl assured Hungary that Bonn fully supported Hungarian moves for economic reform. He said that, without the example of Hungary, developments in East Germany would not have been so "breath-taking." He thanked Budapest for its "decisive contribution" to the solution of the East German refugee problem in the summer. Kohl travels on to Dresden to meet East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

GERMANY

The moment of truth is all about powers

On 10 November, after the Berlin Wall had been breached and huge crowds gathered on both sides, the phone rang in the diplomatic mission of the allied powers in West Berlin. The Soviet ambassador in East Berlin wanted to know: "How do you intend to maintain order?"

Not only the Soviets but also the Western powers are finding themselves unexpectedly confronted by the moment of truth which nobody planned and which nobody wanted to materialise that soon.

The moment of truth is nothing other than the question of power in Berlin and Germany. It openly addresses the following complex: which are the "original" rights of the superpowers with respect to "Germany as a whole", their military presence and their attested sovereignty over Berlin?

The respective mayors of West Berlin and East Berlin, Momper and Krack, bypassed the allies to discuss water, effluent, traffic and smog problems, Bonn did not even bother to consult the USA as a matter of form before establishing regular flights between Frankfurt and Leipzig (and not at all in the case of Helmut Kohl's ten-point plan). Surely this means that the original rights of the allies only exist on paper and that their military units stand around like cardboard cut-outs?

It was this question, not Ronald Reagan's 1987 Berlin initiative on the extension of the city as a centre of air routes and conference capital, which motivated the surprise Soviet initiative. It also explains why the western allies agreed so readily.

The small four-power conference is a signal to the Germans: we are still there and not quite so fast please.

Or as US Secretary of State Baker put it: reunification must take place gradually and must be "part of a step-by-step process" to ensure that it develops "by peaceful means." Yet can the four powers again conduct quadripartite negotiations on "Germany as a whole" — as they did for the last time in Geneva in May 1959?

Apparently not, since they have in the meantime been overtaken by *two* realities.

One of them existed between the mid-1950s and 9 November 1989.

The two Germanies have ceased to be an object of negotiation; they assumed the role of the main strategic partners of their respective hegemonic powers.

Konrad Adenauer's spectre called Potsdam (a German solution "at our expense") was buried by 1955 at the latest through the attainment of sovereignty and accession to Nato, since no-one *wanted* to place "their" Germany at anybody else's disposal.

A second reality was added on 9 November this year. The four powers are no longer *able* to work on the basis of Germany's disposability, since events are simply running away from them.

The power of tanks and paragraphs can at most be turned into political influence in the relationship between East German marks and D-marks: at a huge loss.

Or can they? The Russians, for example, could only wield their power if they give the order to shoot, which all their well-understood interests prevent them from doing. And what about the western powers? Their power in Berlin is not so much based on paper as on the "consent of the ruled", as laid down in the American Declaration of Independence.

Their power emanates from their role as "protecting powers", and the latter was depreciated to the extent to which the Soviet field of force around Berlin has disintegrated.

This is a coolly calculated assessment; it is not exactly, however, the ideal solution.

The Federal Republic of Germany is embedded in a network of interests and commitments, which bind it to the West — from Brussels-Nato to Brussels-European Community. It has benefited enormously from this position. Not even handing it the Bismarck Reich on a silver plate would justify its jeopardisation.

The "link to Saint Petersburg", which Bismarck said should never be severed, is also quite strained at present, as shown by the increasingly strongly worded anti-reunification protests by Moscow.

Any well-understood German policy, therefore, must view the signal *of the four* powers in Berlin with the necessary level-headedness.

Allies are there to be consulted; enemies have a right to be respected.

On no account should a Bonn government or — following its formation — an East Berlin government run the risk of living in a state of tension with all four powers. The Germans have never got on well living in defiance in central Europe.

Like every mood of elation the national euphoria which existed on 9 November will be replaced by harsh realities.

Although the solution of the German Question no longer lies in the hands of the allies this does not mean that it is now entirely in German hands.

The Germans cannot do without the goodwill of others and the others cannot do without the trust of the ex-loser of the second world war.

Especially in view of the fact that former certainties are disappearing day by day, preserving both goodwill and trust represents the major challenge for German statecraft.

Josef Joffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 12 December 1989)

French fears about emergence of a super economic force

The idea of reunification of the two parts of Germany worries France.

There are fears that Germany would then acquire a significance in East and West which would have detrimental effects on its own role and change the existing balance of power in the European Community.

"The Federal Republic of Germany is an economic giant, but a political dwarf!" Charles de Gaulle, the representative of a victorious power, was sure about his country's role.

President Pompidou experienced how the German economy overtook the French economy. Giscard d'Estaing admitted that France had become a power of intermediate importance.

Opinion surveys show that the majority of the French population supports the right of self-determination of the Germans, including their right to national unity. This reflects a profound belief in the nation and in freedom.

There is tremendous respect for the way in which the people in the GDR emphasise that they are the people, that they are entitled to sovereignty — not some party apparatus. Foreign policy in Paris, however, is practised by the government and its diplomats.

President Mitterrand defines his country's *raison d'état* as follows: France supports the right of self-determination of the Germans, but not now.

He stresses that the victorious powers now have a responsibility to retain the security structures in Europe, not to raise "the question of borders." This is also a reference to the borders between the two Germanies. During his visit to Kiev Mitterrand and advised West Germans that they should concentrate on strengthening the European Community "and avoid interference in the East."

In a news programme on the public TV channel *Antenne 2* the commentary claimed that for the Germans reunification is "simply a means such as the *force de frappe* of achieving political power in order to establish their hegemony over Europe!" What makes French politicians feel uneasy is the "irresistible rise of the Germans to the dominant (economic) power in Europe."

Statistical charts published in French newspapers show that a united Germany, with a population of 78 million people (France has 58 million) and with an industrial production figure over twice that of France, would advance to become the undisputed market leader in major industries in East and West.

"The integration of the East German economy into the D-mark zone would automatically pull along its former Comecon partners, such as Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, in its wake and turn the European House upside down," the magazine *Le Point* wrote on 25 September.

On 20 November *Valeurs Actuelles* even aggregated "three states of one nation" into one economic giant. The Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and the GDR would attain the significance of the two victorious powers France and Britain together.

Everywhere there is reference to a new *Mitteleuropa* under German leadership.

Some fear a return to a German Reich, others talk of a future "Fourth Reich."

The *Nouvel Observateur* on 2 November did not rule out "joint Germanic-Soviet rule (condominium) over Central Europe" with the following division of labour: "the military for the Russians and the economy for the Germans."

Up to now France has cultivated a "sympathy" for the Germans. The argument ran that the Federal Republic of Germany was in danger of becoming a society with too high a percentage of old people and also in danger of dying out because of the low birth rate.

With an "immigration gain" of 5.5 million new citizens since 1950 and an influx of roughly 600,000 mainly young people during 1989 alone it no longer looks as if this is a serious problem.

Furthermore, no-one doubts that the GDR — following a transition to a market economy — will be just as able to bring about an economic miracle as the Federal Republic of Germany after the 1948 currency reform.

Some of the annual capital exports of the Federal Republic of Germany, amounting to several billion D-marks, a massive transfer of technology and management support as well as the worldwide expert network could soon help *put* the GDR economy back on its feet.

The common language, culture, tech-

Continued on page 6

A question that does not belong to the Germans alone

All devout Christians want to get to heaven, but none of them want to get there too soon.

The response of other nations to the German Question resembles this pattern.

More verbosely in the West and with a gritting of teeth in the East statesmen proclaim that they have no objection to German unity, but add with firm resolution that things should not be rushed and that a number of preconditions must exist first. No forceps delivery, thank you very much.

No-one wants a German go-it-alone. Whatever may unfold in the way of unity between the two German states it must be subordinated to the requirements of a European balance of power.

We should accept what Francois Mitterrand rather brusquely and undiplomatically stresses: in view of our past we Germans cannot decide independently about our future.

This will hardly surprise anyone with a knowledge of history. In modern times the German Question has never belonged to the Germans alone.

The territorial delimitations and the constitutional situation in the German Reich from the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 to the dissolution of the Reich in 1806 were guaranteed by France and Sweden.

This *assecuratio pacies* at the same time subjected life in Germany to the codetermination and objections of foreign powers.

The same applied to the German Confederation which replaced the old Reich following the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

The distribution of territory within Germany continued to be determined by external states; the confederate constitution was part of the European balance of power, the dividing up of Germany in "weakness and manifold helplessness" was almost the precondition for the workability of the complicated mechanism of balance. Eight signatory powers guaranteed the Confederation.

Bismarck broke out of this framework, partly in 1866 and completely in 1870.

Thiers already issued a warning in Paris when the North German Confederation was established.

Following the proclamation of the German Reich in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles the Conservative Benjamin Disraeli announced in the House of Commons:

"We have a new world... The balance of power is completely destroyed."

Up until 1890 Bismarck employed his diplomatic skills to maintain a balance of power and peace. Then disaster took its course. What began under the high-

Continued on page 3

The German Tribune

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GERMANY

Tension rises on the streets; pleas against use of violence

In Leipzig, gallows are being taken along to demonstrations — the names of former Politbüro members dangle from the crossbeams. Out-of-work servants of the former East German regime, such as secret policemen, are finding it hard to get jobs. Stefan Berg reports in *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*.

Lawyer and new Socialist Unity Party (SED) chairman Gregor Gysi put it in a nutshell: "The autocratic rule of a single party leads to the autocratic rule of a single leadership, and the autocratic rule of a single leadership automatically leads at some stage to the autocratic rule of the number one man in this leadership and his advisers."

Yet even the experienced lawyer, who presented a report on the abuse of authority and corruption in his capacity as head of the SED investigation committee during the party's special congress, finds a great deal difficult to understand.

There are simply too many tip-offs from all over the country, too much which remains obscure — even in the Central Committee building in Berlin: "I was not familiar with this House and its structures," Gysi admits. "I still have problems finding a single room."

There is no end to the deluge of revelations. The newspapers and the news programme *Aktuelle Kamera* shown every evening look more and more like episodes of a crime series.

Take, for example, the headlines of the SED newspaper *Neues Deutschland* on 4 December: "Mittag, Tisch, Müller and Albrecht arrested", "Search for the head of the Ko-Ko department — Schalck-Golodkowski, still at large, dismissed from office", "Citizens' initiative discovers secret arms depot." No-one can say how much financial damage has been done. As great at least as the moral damage brought about by the former leadership.

Arms trading makes Honecker's peace policy look like a big swindle; Harry Tisch's handling of solidarity donations by the members of his trade union destroys the idea of internationalism.

The privileges the former party leadership enjoyed make this society's claim to be socially fair look like a farce.

One Community party delegate at the special SED congress said that the initials SED now have a different meaning in the factory in which he works:

"S stands for *Sauwirtschaft*, (lousy economy), E for *Egoismus* (egotism) and D for *Diebstahl* (theft)."

It is hardly surprising that some people are running out of patience.

There is a growing readiness on the part of the people to violently take the law into its own hands.

In Leipzig, where the revolution began so peacefully, gallows are now being taken along to demonstrations. The names of former Politburo members are on a sign dangling from the crossbeam.

For the former party leadership their detention awaiting trial is increasingly becoming protective custody.

The comrades in the factories and in the communes are faced by a situation charged with tension.

"I am scared," said one shipyard workers told his fellow party delegates. "My colleagues don't talk to us any more. We've gambled everything away."

Party executive buildings and the buildings of the state security police are being occupied, searched and disbanded.

The risk of social conflicts as a result of the dismissal of thousands of bureaucrats is unpredictable. Although manpower is being continuously offered to the production plants and trading facilities what use is someone who has never done more than fill in documents for "socialist competition" or compile statistics which were incorrect anyway?

Despite the lack of manpower the fellow travellers and accomplices of the former regime are not being welcomed with open arms. The master butcher in the street where I live refused to take on two former state security officials. His laconic reply: "They'll make mincemeat out of every piece of meat."

The coal merchant whose workers stayed in the West refused to employ two former office employees. Many a Communist party meeting nowadays begins with a minute's silence for former regional secretaries and colleagues who have committed suicide. Other comrades have started to look for jobs themselves.

One lecturer at the Communist party political instruction centre, which has been closed down for the time being, has started work in an old people's home.

"At a time when there is a state of emergency in this sector," she says, "I just can't give lectures, which nobody wants to hear anyway, somewhere else."

The situation is no different at the Humboldt University in Berlin. Lecturers for Marxism-Leninism and Philosophy no longer want to stand up in front of students. For many the "revolution" in the GDR means the end. They complain that students either refuse to listen or ask questions they cannot answer.

Whereas two months ago Church groups appealed to the SED regime not to use force this warning is directed today to the East German people as a whole.

"Despite our anger at the violence, lies and embezzlement which have been exposed we must not resort to hate and thoughts of revenge. The respect of human dignity is indivisible."

This extract from a declaration by the Conference of Protestant Church leaders, reprinted in *Neues Deutschland* on 9 December, makes it clear just how serious the situation is.

During the party congress Gregor Gysi was equally admonitory. He stressed that an illegal house arrest for former party leaders is also inadmissible.

In their appeal for non-violence and level-headedness the government, parties, Church groups and civic movements agree: "Beat them up, the bastards!", the order Erich Mielke gave to the police to deal with peaceful demonstrators, must not become the motto of the revolution which has begun so peacefully.

Stefan Berg

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 15 December 1989)

Continued from page 2

handed blindness of William II was completed by Hitler in his urge to rule the world. The 75 years of German unity were neither our own happiest nor our neighbours'.

How can they be blamed for having big doubts about a return to unity? They planned the division. Originally, a North-South division was planned, not East-West. The axe of division was supposed to be the will of the victors not ideology.

Then the Cold War broke out. The divided halves of Germany, mere booty up until that time, were suddenly promoted by the protagonists of the East-West conflict to host victors.

In the Federal Republic, people started to believe that the division was primarily the result of the Cold War itself and that everything would take care of itself once that "war" was over.

The rights of reservation of the victorious powers over "Germany as a whole" and Berlin were viewed as a promise to help bring about reunification.

Now that the Cold War's sheet of ice has started to melt, however, many Germans are discovering, much to their dismay, that it covered up the old motivation structures and fear of the victors vis-à-vis the defeated. It suddenly dawns that division has much deeper reasons than the East-West confrontation.

Yet again it has become clear that the rights of reservation of western allies were not so much a lever *for* German unity but a safeguard *against* it.

The protecting powers turn out to be controlling powers; suddenly the Soviet Union also recalls the former alliance of the second world war. It was hardly to be expected any other way, so why get upset about it.

Even 50 years after Hitler there is no escaping the basic parameters of our national existence. It is the mark of our times that great things can occur without Cabinets and Chancelleries playing a major part.

In Eastern Europe the people stormed onto the stage and took over directing themselves; this includes the people in the GDR. They are no longer afraid of tanks; how much less fear are they likely to have of paragraphs, protocols and plenipotentiaries. The spontaneity of the people, however, can only be channeled safely if it can be contained by hope.

Hope for secure borders for all neighbours, including the Poles. It is time that the CDU and CSU spoke up honestly here. Whoever wants to water down or even remove the inner border in Germany must not cast doubt on outer borders. Hope that the elimination of stereotyped foe images will be followed by the elimination of arms. Disarmament is the dictate of the moment.

It could enable the transition of the pact systems into a comprehensive system of security in Europe, which would continue to include the Americans and the Soviets.

Up until then Nato and the Warsaw Pact would be retained — as a guarantee against uncoupling and as reinsurance.

Hope, too, that the end of the Cold War will be followed by the end of the second world war. Not through a peace treaty, a crazy notion, but through the gradual change of the rights of occupation and the rights of the victorious powers into CSCE rights.

The mechanisms of the European balance of power would then have to be included into structures which emerge during the the Helsinki process.

And hope that a Europe of industrial strength and prosperity will break out of the Carolingian straitjacket and open up Ottonian horizons looking to the east.

In such a Europe Germans in East and West could develop a new we-feeling and new unalarming forms of living together.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 15 December 1989)

East Berlin party places hopes in a new face



Here to stay? Or just passing through? Gregor Gysi. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Gregor Gysi's round, nickel-rimmed glasses gleam in the TV spotlights. There can be no doubt that the new SED leader is in his element.

Everything the 41-year-old East Berlin lawyer tells Western correspondents is to the point, no matter how non-committal he may sound on details.

The longer the new East German Communist leader is questioned, the more he seems to have spent years working out by night what answers might be needed.

Not a single sentence he says is spoken on the spur of the moment, as it were.

Whether he is here to stay as one of a new generation of East German leaders is another matter. The sole survivor of the Honecker era in the new, 99-member SED executive committee is former Deputy Arts Minister Klaus Höpcke.

Yet Berlin-born Gysi has an unblemished reputation, as does his father Klaus, who used to be a Cabinet Minister yet still lives in a rented apartment in Leipziger Strasse.

In 18 years as a practising lawyer Gregor Gysi has defended everything and everyone who might have been expected to harm his career. He is held in high repute by many grassroots groups.

Many an SED member may be hoping he will prove more than a match for the Opposition. Yet scepticism predominates. SED conference delegates and the general public alike have widespread reservations about "Jack-in-the-box" Gysi.

The SED needs not only anchormen who can handle a situation from the wings, as it were, when a crisis occurs; it needs "front" men too.

Herbert Kroker, chairman of the emergency executive committee, declined the leadership, saying he was too old at sixty.

Conference chairman Wolfgang Berghofer, 46, declined too, saying he preferred to stay at his post as mayor of Dresden.

That left only two prospective SED leaders, Hans Modrow and Gregor Gysi.

Premier Modrow is a hard worker with a record of service who is gaining daily in public esteem. Gysi feels called on daily to lay down the law.

It is worth bearing in mind that they were the only choices left. The other parties can only muster long-serving Liberal Democrat Manfred Gerlach, a

Continued on page 8

GERMANY

A nation's media step out of their Stalinist shackles and begin to make up for 40 years of lost time

After 40 years of being shackled, the East German press is making up for lost time by exposing the corruption and the web of deceit. Old guard editors have either resign or have been sacked. Suddenly television and newspapers have become interesting. Their language has become lively. People are speaking their minds. Rainer Schmitz reports for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as you will have just gathered from the news the situation in this country stinks to high heaven.

"This cannot be blamed on the smog. The stench which reeks throughout the entire land emanates from a morass of corruption."

The rapid succession of new facts and figures gives the presenter of a light entertainment programme on East German radio the chance to reach top form.

The tenor of his commentary typifies what has become the norm on all radio stations in East Germany: *Radio GDR I*, *Radio GDR II*, *Stimme der DDR*, and the regional programmes such as *Berliner Rundfunk*, *Sender Rostock*, *Sender Dresden*, *Sender Leipzig*.

The fear of being called to account because of some unfortunate "slip of the tongue" has turned into courage and determination. Live broadcasts and unabridged interviews are on the agenda. The hourly early-warning "smog reports" are also new.

Ever since Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler, the figurehead of the dyed-in-the-wool Cold War campaigners in the GDR, was dismissed a great deal has also changed on GDR television. (Von Schnitzler had his own programme for many years which consisted of diatribes against the evils of the capitalist West Germany. There was never any negative comment about East Germany).

The newscasts *Aktuelle Kamera* on East German Channel One, *AK 2* on Channel Two and other current affairs programmes have achieved the highest viewer ratings during recent weeks.

A particularly popular programme is *Elf 99* (= 1199, the postal code for Berlin-Adlershof, the location of the East German television studios).

Although the SED still has a dominant position most radio and television journalists are now speaking their minds and making programmes the way they want them to be: colourful, lively, frank and provocative.

Overnight, reports are pieced together which mercilessly put the finger on the country's sore spots: the dilapidated towns and cities, the ruined environment, an ailing economy, the problem of GDR emigrants to the West, the bottomless pit of corruption and immorality, and the uninhibited appraisal of the Stalinist past.

Previously banned films made in the studios of the GDR film association Defa and from the Soviet Union are now being screened.

Experts are being asked to come along to discussions on topics which were items of classified information only a few months ago and the very mention of which would have cost the editor responsible his job.

Freedom and a diversity of opinions are practised in controversial discussions.

Exchanging programmes with the western TV stations and joint productions from the GDR have almost become a matter of course.

Above all former GDR citizens who have watched East German television during recent weeks feel as if they are in some fairytale.

Normality is surpassing even their wildest dreams.

At a breathtaking pace the GDR is making up for forty lost years. For the first time the true situation in the GDR is being presented in its media.

"We just cannot find the time to read all the newspapers. From the leading article to the tide reports — everything is incredibly interesting!" This is how people currently feel about the print media in the GDR.

The East German newspapers are comparatively thin: during the week generally six to eight pages, on the weekends twelve.

It has become tremendously difficult to buy newspapers on the streets. Not only because all daily newspapers have had to reduce the number of their copies for many years due to the shortage of paper, but above all because of the sharp increase in demand.

Never before has there been such an avid interest in the hitherto boring newspapers in the history of the GDR.

The media are beginning to take on the role they deserve. They have shaken off the constraints of being no more than the mouthpieces of a Communist party caste.

The Press Office of the GDR Council of Minister, up to now the most senior press censor in the GDR and the long arms of the SED Politburo, has completely forfeited this function.

The editorial staff of the state news agency ADN (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst*) are showing their solidarity with new developments.

"Reports expose the sore spots... the bottomless pit of corruption, the dilapidated cities"

To an increasing extent the editorial departments and, in particular, individual journalists are being allowed to assume personal responsibility for their reports.

They themselves have become organs of control and are pushing ahead the overall development through their disclosures of the real plight.

Being well-informed is a prerequisite for "sound judgements and proper action," the editor-in-chief of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* wrote recently.

A banal truism — but with far-reaching implications.

In the meantime all media in the GDR are chorusing in the same pitch; even the orthodox party newspaper of the (Communist) SED, *Neues Deutschland* (circulation: 800,000).

The altered mastheads are visible signs of the new approach.

Of course, the SED newspapers still exist: the *Neues Deutschland* and its regional organs, such as the *Berliner Zeitung*, the *Freie Erde*, *Das Volk* and others.

Now, however, they no longer call themselves the "central organ" or the "organ" of the Central Committee or of the chief regional administration of the SED, but (since the end of November) the "daily newspaper of the SED" in respective districts.

They no longer subordinate themselves to the central will of the party. For the first time in their history, therefore, the leading Communist party newspapers are also creating their own distinct character.

The Leipziger Volkszeitung, a newspaper rich in tradition, once run by Franz Mehring and with Rosa Luxemburg as a former member of its editorial staff, has again adopted a strictly left-wing course.

It now calls itself the "organ for the interests of the entire working people" and has also dripped the Marxist motto commonly used in SED newspapers, "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

The differentiation according to specific interests, which reflects up-and-coming pluralism, is particularly noticeable in the central newspapers of the disbanding "Democratic Bloc".

Apart from the *Neue Zeit* (CDU, circulation: 104,000) this above all encompasses *Der Morgen* (LDPD, circulation: 51,000), the *National-Zeitung* (NDPD, circulation: 59,000), the *Bauernecho* (DBD, circulation: 91,000), the *Tribüne* (FDGB, circulation: 400,000) and the *Junge Welt* (FDJ, circulation: 180,000).

The problems at the local and regional level are often even more "revolutionary" since they are more immediate. A great deal of dirty linen is being washed in public. The struggle for new positions is above all a struggle for the use of the right language.

East Germans are no longer afraid. Language has become a medium and a weapon. Overnight, reports became more colourful, more lively, more trenchant, more biting and more witty.

The power of language of the renewers and democrats has not been eliminated during the four decades of forced silence.

Will the GDR newspapers be able to survive the current upheavals?

The Stalinist press laws still exist as do the licensing stipulations and regulations of the Press Office of the Council of Ministers. *De facto*, however, they have been annulled.

Any journalist can now work how and where he likes. Because of the fixed quotas for paper, however, the circulation figures for East German newspapers are still restricted.

Once the election campaign begins in earnest and majorities start to push their views in the media some newspapers will have to fight for their survival.

Journalistic circles expect some newspapers to fall by the wayside during this process.

Der Morgen, the newspaper of the Liberal Democrats (LDPD), has offered the Opposition groups — Democratic Awakening, Democracy Now, New Forum and the SDP — to make its columns available for its interests.

Up to now these groups have been hesitant about taking up this offer, for fear of being instrumentalised.

Agreement was reached on the interim stage during the roundtable talks on 7 December. The Opposition groups are to be allotted space regularly in the various newspapers.

They will be allowed to articulate their news without censorship and without any influence being taken by the editorial departments of the "host" newspapers on the content of published opinion.

The *Leipziger Zeitung* has made a start in this respect; however, it does give the impression that this was the result of its own initiative and not of the roundtable talks. It is still not clear when the New Forum will be setting up its own authorized weekly newspaper (circulation: roughly 100,000).

Up to now only the established parties have the corresponding apparatus for the election campaign and party-political dispute at their disposal.

The Opposition is currently fighting for official authorisation to establish its own publishers and newspapers. In view of the election scheduled to take place on 6 May 1990, this is absolutely essential.

The possibilities the Church provided to those groups which operated under its umbrella are far too limited.

There is a lack of paper, printing capacities and an independent distribution network.

"Language has become more lively, more biting... four decades of silence has not killed its power"

In this situation help must be provided by the West. Representatives of the western media groups are now regular visitors to editorial departments andf publishers in the GDR.

Their goal is to form joint ventures, which means providing more and better paper, an extended distribution network and a transfer of profits.

Would this strengthen conservative forces or is it not more important to establish new newspapers?

There is a particular shortage of experienced journalists and editors with a "clean" past; writing articles is not the main problem, but "producing" newspapers.

Up to now journalists in the GDR did not have the best reputations, especially those who were trained in the "Red Cloister" in Leipzig, the school of journalism run by the Karl Marx University.

In many cases, however, they joined the newspapers as committed writers with other occupations.

The editors of the party newspapers are still appointed by the publisher, in other words the respective party, which presupposes a political selection procedure.

Some editors-in-chiefs belonging to the "old guard" have already resigned or been forced to resign. They, too, have been guilty of abusing their positions, illegally lining their own pockets and corruption. The former party cadres, however, still cling to their jobs in many decisive posts beneath the executive level.

Not subject to such great publicity, they hope to maintain their perquisites and exclusive party pensions. They slow down the process of renewal and ensure that the old guard can make a more gentle exit.

The reflection of the revolution in the media of the GDR is objective and direct. The reports and pictures often seem more exciting than those presented in the West.

Viewers in the GDR say that what they see on West German television is an inadequate coverage of actual events. After all, life is much more exciting than the constant droning of the entertainment channels.

Rainer Schmitz

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 15 December 1989)

PERSPECTIVE

Need to stave off instability by showing East Germans that something is happening

The exodus of young workers to the West continues: the popular uprising in the East maintains its momentum; there are calls for strikes. Steps must be taken to defuse the instability which this is leading to. Hans Jürgensen talks to some experts who are confronting the problem.

Is it already too late, in Leipzig and Dresden, to end 40 years of communist dictatorship in a reasonably peaceful manner?

Professor Albert Jugel, who teaches automation at Dresden University of Technology and, as an adviser to and former director of the state-owned Robotron microelectronics group, has inside knowledge of how large firms are run in the GDR, is worried.

On a demonstration in Dresden gallows have been paraded through the streets for the first time. In nearly all factories there have been calls to be prepared to strike. Now they have seen what life in the West is like, East Germans have grown alarmingly more demanding in their expectations.

Professor Jugel is worried that an "irrational revolt" might turf out the old works management and lead to a total breakdown in supplies that are, as yet, still fairly safe. The old system, he says, was not entirely bad.

The most serious threats to stability in the GDR are, as he sees it, the ongoing exodus of mainly young workers to the West and an escalation of the popular uprising to industrial action.

To counter these trends, supplies must be improved quantitatively and qualitatively as soon as possible by making full use of the swing, as the interest-free facility for running a surplus of imports from the Federal Republic is known.

In addition, people must be offered an "acceptable economic system," which could only mean a free market economy with all it entailed.

Immediate measures must include cooperation and joint ventures with companies in the Federal Republic and in other Western countries as soon as possible.

A "restructuring of thinking" must be embarked on by sending trainees and management staff to the Federal Republic for training or by means of energetic backing from the Federal Republic.

A Weekend University project just launched in Dresden includes lectures and debates with university staff, businessmen and politicians from the Federal Republic.

A cooperation exchange is being set up in Dresden and in the Federal Republic to pave the way for making contacts.

"We need to show people something is happening, otherwise there will be no further need for discussion," says Professor Jugel, who is evidently now using the process and systems engineering he teaches in a bid to control social processes.

Professor Jugel, 41, is a member of the GDR's technological intelligentsia.

He and a number of colleagues from the GDR were in Düsseldorf for expert talks with West German economists at the Westdeutsche Landesbank.

The combines that make up the lion's share of industrial capacity in the GDR were, he said, still running fairly smoothly.

They were still manageable and operational and continued, above all, to fulfill export commitments.

There must be no question of the GDR failing to meet its contractual obligations, which was why the time had not yet come for a change of management. That could be left until later.

There were signs not only of new politicians but of new enterprises that were keen to forge ahead in the GDR.

Professor Jugel was convinced the Socialist Unity Party (SED) would no longer oppose such legislation as might be needed to introduce a free market system.

SED members seemed to have realised that "dangers only lurk for those who fail to respond to life," to quote Mr Gorbachov again.

Yet the once all-powerful Plan Commission in East Berlin was still convinced at the end of November, said Professor Steinitz of the Central Institute of Economic Sciences, East Berlin, that "toning up" and "debureaucratising" the existing system was all that was needed.

The Düsseldorf talks were attended by Professors Jugel and Steinitz, Professor Dubrowsky of the University of Economics, East Berlin, Professor Nötzold of Leipzig University and Professor Maier of the Institute of International Politics and Economics, East Berlin.

West German experts included Professors Gutmann and Hartwig of Cologne University, Westdeutsche Landesbank specialists, All-German Affairs Ministry officials and staff of the All-German Affairs Research Unit.

They were agreed that in the GDR, as opposed to the Soviet Union, there was no need for a currency reform.

People undeniably had spare cash, but "suitable measures" could tie up this surplus money, Professor Dubrowsky felt.

They included an improvement in the woefully inadequate supply of consumer goods and services, the provision of investment facilities such as fixed-interest bonds and staff bonuses and share capital, and home ownership (condominium apartments and "conversions").

At present the only facility available is a savings account; the GDR doesn't even have term deposits.

A banking reform must lead to the establishment of a two-tier banking system and to a separation of the central bank from the government.

Convertibility of the East German mark, the experts also agreed, could not be the first step on the road to reform; it could only be introduced gradually.

East German experts were clearly still most unsure how and when people might accept indispensable price reforms. They were deterred by experience gained with drastic price increases in Poland and the Soviet Union.

Yet they realised that now the border had been opened there was an urgent need for action.

Details were the real problem, Professor Gutmann said. Many combines in the GDR enjoyed a monopoly position and could more or less charge whatever prices they saw fit.

The price reform must thus be accompanied by breaking combines down into smaller units. The present explosive situation must on no account be exacerbated by hyperinflation.

GDR experts agreed that the reform process would be a race against time and made much more difficult by a harsh winter, if there was to be one, and by a conflict-laden process of opinion formation.

The GDR's political leaders and their economic advisers were well aware what preconditions were needed to trigger an influx of private investment, said Klaus Wieners, head of the economics department at the Westdeutsche Landesbank.

They also realised that this influx would accelerate the process of economic renewal.

Yet both the SED and Opposition reformers were still reluctant to bring their political and social wishes into line with the regulatory changes they necessitated.

No-one could object in the least to a wide range of viewpoints, but time was short and decisions were urgently required.

Hans Jürgensen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 December 1989)

Working to regain a hinterland for West Berlin

West Berlin has provided DM40m in emergency medical relief for crisis-torn surrounding areas in the GDR.

This first step in cooperation was agreed by Mayor Walter Momper in over three hours of talks with GDR Premier Hans Modrow.

Herr Modrow agreed to pay West Berlin the first official visit by a GDR head of government in January.

They also agreed to set up a regional committee consisting of representatives of the municipal administrations of East and West Berlin, envoys of the GDR and Federal governments and representatives of the neighbouring GDR administrative areas of Frankfurt/Oder and Potsdam.

The committee was to be set up on a provisional basis prior to Federal Chancellor Kohl's 19 December visit to Dresden, Mayor Momper said.

Berlin is thus setting the pace for other areas on either side of the intra-German border. Action was urgently needed in Berlin, where visas for travel to and from the East seemed likely to be scrapped before Christmas and not just in the New Year.

West Berlin will then cease to lead a separate, "island" existence. The walled-in city will then be rejoined to its surroundings.

This tectonic shift called for political and geographic safeguards, as Mayor Momper was quick to appreciate.

The regional committee will concentrate on specific problems of traffic control and town and country planning. In early September Mayor Momper and his East Berlin opposite number, Mayor Krack, discussed what, in the West's view, are priority issues. When atmospheric pollution reaches an agreed level there will soon, for instance, be a joint smog alarm in the Berlin area.

In the days of former East German leader Erich Honecker the situation was at times so weird that in West Berlin the use of private cars was banned while in East Berlin people were not even warned that atmospheric pollution had reached smog alarm levels.

When a smog alarm was sounded in the West many people in East Berlin felt most unsure of themselves. This situation is no longer to arise.

Other oddities that can now be ended include maintenance and repairs to water and gas mains untended for decades in the erstwhile death strip along the border.

Some of the ugly watchtowers along the border have been abandoned for days. Around Potsdamer Platz so many souvenir-hunters have chipped pieces out of the Wall that it looks more like a Swiss cheese than the Wall of old.

This city-centre area is where the wounds of a city divided for nearly 40 years are most readily apparent. Potsdamer Platz, where the heart of metropolitan Berlin once beat, degenerated to an urban wasteland.

Now it has been reopened to traffic between the two halves of the city, life has returned. An East-West working party is now to consider how best to breathe fresh life into the area.

One proposal from East Berlin has been to build a north-south autobahn along the disused border strip.

Plans to extend the urban autobahn from Neukölln, West Berlin, to neighbouring Treptow, East Berlin, have already given rise to a local government dispute.

In Treptow, a city-centre borough to the east of the Wall, a large area of industrial land is disused. West Berlin firms seem sure to set up there soon, leasing land from the East.

Land used in the West to stockpile coal and food for emergency use can now be reallocated. No-one now feels there will ever be a repeat of the 1948-49 Berlin blockade.

Indeed, the neighbouring province of Brandenburg is now open for excursions, and the S-Bahn, or suburban electric railway, seems likely to run from the city centre to Potsdam and Nauen again, as it did until the Cold War.

The GDR has suggested extending East Berlin tram services from Prenzlauer Berg and Pankow to Wedding and Reinickendorf in the West.

Might that herald a revival of the tram, or streetcar, which was phased out in West Berlin nearly 23 years ago? At all events public transport fares are to be standardised in East and West Berlin from the New Year.

For people in West Berlin leisure facilities stand to improve dramatically. Berlin is surrounded by a wealth of rivers, canals and lakes. It could well regain its status as a paradise for people who like "messing about in boats."

The white-liveried steamers of the Weisse Flotte might well cross West Berlin next season, taking day-trippers from Müggelsee to Potsdam via Charlottenburg.

Boaters will no longer need to turn back at the buoys that mark the border. Moorings may even be available outside the city limits.

These may be minor details among the many issues with which the regional committee will have to deal, but for the people of Berlin they are most important.

Paul F. Duwe

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 14 December 1989)

THE EAST GERMAN ECONOMY

Lots of slogans, fears of a sellout and a vote in favour of planification

East Germans know that their economic system has been a dismal failure. Drastic changes are needed. But what? Many are reluctant to let market forces have the field to themselves. Klaus-Peter Schmidt reports for the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*.

One must presumably be a German professor to see as clearly as, say, Professor Wolfram Engels of Frankfurt what needs to be done next.

"The call for a better socialism," he says, "is irresponsible idle talk even when it is made by trade union leaders, leading Social Democrats or members of the clergy. A free market economy is the only solution."

Professor Engels' Cologne colleague Christian Watrin is equally clear on what the GDR needs:

"What is lacking is, first and foremost, the cornerstone of the 1948 economic and monetary reform in the West: a clear regulatory policy concept and the political will, as personified by Ludwig Erhard, to introduce free market economics."

In reality politicians in the GDR are somewhat at a loss on how to breathe fresh life into the East German economy. No-one wants to continue as hitherto, yet they don't want to part company with socialism entirely either.

Slogans in circulation include a "socialist market economy" and "market-oriented economic planning." The search is under way for a socially acceptable change of system.

At the same time there are grave fears of an economic sell-out, fears expressed by the State Planning Commission's working party on economic reform as follows:

"Every attempt, on the basis of whatever slogan, to undertake mere cosmetic changes will inevitably lead, in the shortest space of time, to economic collapse and thus to terms dictated by leading Western banks and, in the final analysis, to a take-over of the GDR by the Federal Republic."

Despite their disorientation most people in the GDR seem to realise that realistic prices, competition, work-related pay and Western aid will be indispensable.

GDR Economic Affairs Minister Christa Luft evidently feels dogmatic skirmishes are superfluous.

"There is so much harping upon concepts," she says, "and planning is vilified while the market is made out to be of almost mythical importance. I don't see the market as a prerogative of capitalism."

She is also on record as saying: "I find it hard today to say this is capitalist and that is socialist."

The economic principles embodied in Articles 9 to 12 of the GDR's constitution nonetheless stand no chance of survival. They deal with social ownership of the means of production, with central state planning and with nationalised industry.

Their crucial tenet is: "The economy of the German Democratic Republic is a socialist planned economy."

It is clear, after 40 years of economic planning, that the way ahead must be toward market economics. It is also clear that an immediate and total opening to external influence would be fatal.

Even Professor Luft's opposite number in Bonn, Federal Economic Affairs Minister Helmut Haussmann, counsels patience and advises against simplistic ideas.

"The reform process need not necessarily lead to a carbon copy of our social market economy," he says. "There is a wide range of possible solutions on the basis of a free-market system."

Is there, however, a road the GDR could take that amounts to more than a straight choice between socialism and capitalism?

"A so-called market-oriented planned economy would merely be a continuation of the old system of economic tutelage under a new name," says Ota Sik, a reform economist in Prague in 1968 and now an economics don at St Gallen University, Switzerland.

Since the 1960s Professor Sik has untiringly advocated economic reforms *not* based on dogmatic ideology.

In his memoirs, published in 1988, he stresses that he sees his "academic progress toward a Third Road model mainly as a theoretical contribution toward impending attempts at reform in socialist countries."

The most urgent need, he says, is to step up the introduction of a market mechanism linked with market and competition pressure on production facilities.

He proposes an in-between approach:

- In place of central planning of production he proposes macroeconomic framework planning. Rather than set planning targets for individual factories it must outline the points of emphasis, priorities and objectives of economic policy.
- Factors such as output, consumption and investment take shape from competition. The state uses instruments of incomes, fiscal, money and monetary policy appropriate to the market in order to attain its social, economic and ecological objectives.
- Ownership of the working capital of large companies is transferred wholly or in part to their staff, resulting in worker participation in management decisions. This capital participation is aimed, Professor Sik says, at "ending one-sided wage and job interests."

His ideas may yet to have been tried out anywhere in practice, but there is much to be said for them.

An overall "macro-plan" drawn up for a period of several years could help to forestall the threat of disorientation resulting from a sudden departure from the principle of centralised production planning.

By planning more flexibly the state could clearly outline its priorities and at the same time set guidelines for the public and private sectors.

They might, for instance, include medium-term financial planning specifying framework targets for government revenue and expenditure and stating priorities for public-sector investment, so badly needed in infrastructure, for instance.

This would fix neither wages nor prices and in no way ease the pressure of competition on companies. In other words, the market would retain a decisive and predominant influence.

The East Bloc's state trading countries have so far refused to consider such ideas, yet they have long been practised in one capitalist country, France, where government planning — *planification* — is a byword.

In the post-war years in particular, in the days of French industrial reconstruction, indicative (as opposed to facultative, or mandatory) planning was an invaluable political instrument.

Oddly enough, General de Gaulle frequently referred to a Third Road in connection with *planification* and *participation* (industrial democracy).

In 1946, when the planning authority was set up in Paris, the French had no choice. Jean Monnet, the country's first head of planning and a staunch European, put the situation in a nutshell when he said France must modernise or perish.

Planification, initially adopted as a way out of the disastrous consequences of the war, went on to become the guiding principle of an entire generation of politicians and economists.

The first plan, 1947-50, concentrated on the reconstruction of heavy industry, the second on modernisation of economic structure, the third on export promotion.

While the state backed plan targets with the full weight of its budget policy and the clout of state-owned companies, the private sector was practically exempted from coercion.

M. Monnet and his colleagues pursued a social target in addition to their strictly economic objectives. They made representatives of various social groups meet and talk at the round table.

M. Monnet succeeded in instilling into industry and the civil service a belief in expansion and progress.

In the Fifth Republic, from 1958, the plan declined in interest, being viewed by the wider public as the dictate of a political majority.

Yet until the late 1960s it was still taken sufficiently seriously for the Left to take the trouble of drawing up a counter-plan.

In retrospect *planification* can be seen to have been extremely useful, and not just because the outcome of economic policy came amazingly close to the planning targets.

The transformation of a predominantly agricultural country into a modern industrial state capable of holding its own against European competition was undoubtedly facilitated by the coordinating and motivating effect of the plan.

Logically enough, what General de Gaulle called the "burning *obligation*" only held good for the limited period during which the French economy was thrown open to the outside world.

The GDR planning commission's working party on economic reform has proposed evaluating the experience of "selected capitalist countries with economic reform and arriving at conclusions for our own further progress."

This is already being done in the debate that is in progress in political parties and at universities and production facilities.

Mention is, for instance, made of the "Swedish model." In Sweden capitalism, by virtue of welfare state guarantees, is felt by socialists to have a human face.

But Sweden is a rich country that can afford high social standards on the basis of an affluent economy.

Mention is even made of Japan and its influential Ministry of International Trade and Industry (Miti) as a model.

Miti ensures that industrial and government interests interlock, but Japanese industry sets international standards and the Japanese government's aim is not to control but to promote industry.

DIE ZEIT

The only Third Road that appears lacking in attraction is Yugoslavia's, having led via workers' self-administration to such deep-seated economic crisis that it has forfeited all claims to attraction.

Only a handful of points seem to be held in common in what is a most confusing debate. They include the idea of a mixed system including private ownership of the means of production, foreign participation and coexistence of the private and public sectors.

Berlin economist Professor Gurtz describes the interplay of these factors as follows: "The economy will proceed in accordance with market laws along paths laid out by central government planning."

If this is to work, the motivation of all concerned must not be neglected. As Professor Rüdiger Pohl put it in *Die Zeit*: "Self-interest is indispensable."

Is there a Third Road? The GDR will not be a success with a "better socialism," but at least for a transitional period it will find it hard to dispense with elements of planning.

French-style *planification* could help it to get its hand in at capitalism provided a legal framework for fiscal, monetary and incomes policy is set up soon.

Patience in good measure will be no less indispensable. To quote Herr Haussmann, who sets greater store by the market than by Marx:

"I should like to remind everyone here in the West who expects the GDR to switch allegiance to the market economy overnight that the Federal Republic did not scrap all price controls or permit unbridled competition in all sectors in the immediate wake of the 1948 currency reform."

On closer scrutiny some price controls and inroads on competition will be seen still to await being scrapped.

Klaus-Peter Schmid

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 15 December 1989)

Continued from page 2

nology, history and organisational presence could then give the "Fourth German Economic Reich" an unparalleled lead in the East.

Edouard Balladur, the Economics Minister in the *cohabitation* government and a close adviser of the head of the Neo-Gaullists, Jacques Chirac, gave Mitterand a fitting answer before he travelled to Kiev:

"German unity will come about. Politicians should stop claiming that the question of Germany's reunification is not on the agenda. Maybe not for the Chancelleries, but for the German people. The governments and, in particular, the victors of the war ... will not be able to prevent the reunification of the Germans."

Yet even if political unity could be delayed the regulations of intra-German trade have already turned the GDR into an unofficial member of the European Community. There is virtually no obstacle to its economic integration into the Community of Twelve.

Karl Jetter

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 December 1989)

BUSINESS

Aspects of the German Question might hurt Hanover's chances of holding Expo 2000

Hanover has all the prepequisites to hold Expo, the world trade exhibition, in the Year 2000. The question is if the organisers agree. Expo would be a coup for a city which has an unkind history. It was once a mere provincial outpost of the British Empire and, later, a provincial Prussian city. Is this the end of Hanover's provincialism? Ivo Frenzel reports for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

Hanover, the capital of Lower Saxony, is in the running to hold the World Expo Exhibition in the year 2,000. Other contenders are Venice and Toronto. A decision will not be made until May. Lower Saxon Finance Minister Birgit Breuel entered Hanover's application this month.

Of the other two candidates still in the running, Venice appears to be the worst placed. It is already severely overloaded with tourists throughout the year and it difficult to imagine how it will be able to create the infrastructure in 10 years to enable it to cope with a further 15 million visitors in a single summer high season. But Toronto is different. Its infrastructure equals Hanover's.

The guidelines for tenders should give priority to the country which has not yet organised an exhibition of this kind. As there has never been a world exhibition on West German soil Hanover should stand a very good chance.

In view of the current development of international politics, however, the psychological implications remain incalculable.

On the one hand, Hanover is a good location as a pivotal point for the presentation of technical, scientific and cultural achievements in East and West.

On the other hand, some of the 43 member states of the International Exhibition Bureau in Paris may now have reservations about giving the contract to a German city.

They may fear that by the year 2000 Hanover could be part of a German-German confederation and they have no intention of giving such an economic giant an opportunity to demonstratively display its power.

Irrational yet understandable fears still make the outcome of the discussions in the Club of 43 uncertain.

For this reason a decisive aspect is whether the concept elaborated by Hanover over the last two years is convincing enough.

World exhibitions in their conventional form have always been subject to justified criticism. As mere competitive displays of unbridled economic growth and displays of economic potential these events were regarded as an expression of a naive belief in progress during the 19th century.

The idea of a world exposition was perverted in Osaka in 1970 into a kind of Disneyland for technology freaks.

The result was such a deterrent that the Paris Bureau decided to limit these events to clearly delimited trade exhibitions.

The next "proper" world exposition will be held in Seville and has the motto "The Age of Discovery." Hanover has opted for the harmless sounding motto "Man — Nature — Technology." This is a clear reference to relationship between the three in the coming century.

Birgit Breuel deserves the credit for putting a philosophy at the beginning of the concept and for selecting a circle of excellent scientists, technical experts and creative artists to help her do so.

The inclusion of such prominent personalities as the nuclear physicist Dürr (Munich), who is known to sympathise with the "alternative scene", or the Adorno adherent Offe, a sociologist from Bielefeld, shows that the CDU politician Frau Breuel has a sense of reality.

She obviously realised that *Zeitgeist* can only be articulated if its pioneers are not selected on the basis of ideological or party-political criteria.

The result is a concept for an exhibition at which the participant nations can present their ideas on how to solve the problems of the future.

The concept opts for matter-of-fact discussions with a clear awareness of the problems which exist rather than for the mere entertainment favoured during former world exhibitions.

A world exposition which does not simply display the euphoria of a pluralistic world civilisation with sophisticated technology, but which tries to outline strategies for averting the threat to the earth created by global industrialisation — this really is a new concept.

In order to translate the concept into reality interdisciplinary study groups will regularly be invited to come along to forum meetings in Hanover to define conceptual targets in more concrete terms.

The entire wealth of ideas will finally be pooled in an international popular-scientific centre, the real heart of the world exposition will try to prove the power of dialogue and of theory in conjunction with practical demonstrations at individual country pavilions.

The city of Hanover is convinced that it is already in good shape for such a mammoth event.

During the three to four months of the exposition between twelve and eighteen million visitors are expected.

The Kronsberg to the south-east of the city provides roughly three million square metres of open ground, most of which would be available for the exposition.

The adjoining exhibition grounds, an area which ranks as one of the most scenic and functional of its kind in the world, would also be incorporated into the Expo 2000.

In particular the smaller nations would not there be obliged to erect expensive overground buildings for their country pavilions.

235,000 square metres of exhibition floor space is available in existing halls. 150,000 square metres are planned for new pavilion buildings.

In addition, an international popular science centre and a superdome for major events with a capacity of up to 30,000 spectators are planned.

There are already 42 restaurants (seating capacity 15,000) and three spacious shopping streets.

As Hanover is a major exhibition centre the world exposition grounds would have Europe's biggest private railway station at its disposal, with twelve platforms, motorway links and parking space for 50,000 cars.

By the year 2000 Hanover's entire motorway ring road will have six lanes.

The high-speed Bundesbahn rail link will have its own Intercity station at the exhibition grounds.

All that needs to be built (apart from the hotels and other supply facilities) is a connecting means of transport and a high-speed rail link to the airport.

It is already clear that the enormous investments needed would give a tremendous economic boost to the region.

The Federal Government and the Land of Lower Saxony impressively gave their guarantees to the Paris Bureau for the prefinancing of the project.

Studies being carried out in Seville seem to confirm that investments will be worthwhile. The 750-year-old city of Hanover hopes that the project will be accompanied by the kind of "Olympics effect" experienced by Munich at the beginning of the 1970s.

Hanover urgently needs such a challenge so that it can develop its excellent potential.

History has not been too kind to the city. The Guelphs ruled their land from London for 123 years and degraded Hanover to a provincial administrative base for the British Empire on the European continent. Consequently, no investments were made in the region.

The royal house returned in 1837, but the last Guelph was already forced by Bismarck to abdicate in 1866.

Hanover became a provincial Prussian city and remained this way until the end of the second world war, during which 80 per cent of the city was destroyed.

The city's traditions, therefore, might not make the Bureau in Paris come out in its favour.

The city has already gained an international reputation as an exhibition centre. Its selection as the location for the World Expo 2000 would mean a great leap forward.

All the parties in the state assembly and the city council in Hanover seem to agree — except the Greens.

The Greens have environmental misgivings about the project, feeling that its sheer size involves the risk that the city might degenerate into a "throw-away location" after the event itself is over and that it will then be worse off than before.

The organisers counter such criticism by developing concrete plans for the continued utilisation of the grounds after the exposition.

The international popular science centre is to be retained and extended by a science park.

A "Museum of the Future" could also be set up there, in which various exhibitions could present the latest developments.

This idea has gone down so well in Hanover that there are plans to erect the science centre even if, contrary to expectations, Expo does not come to Hanover. The superdome is to be modelled on the American construction.

With such an arena Hanover would have the biggest centre of its kind in North Germany, an ideal venue for big concerts, sports competitions and international tournaments.

The main thing now, it would seem, is that the Hanover organisers do not get cold feet.

Ivo Frenzel

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9 December 1989)

BUSINESS

Mannesmann wins scramble for mobile-telephone licence

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

The die is cast in the most expensive invitation of tenders in German industrial history.

A consortium led by the Mannesmann group has been awarded the contract licence to set up and operate the D2 digital mobile telephone system. The magic formula D2 means really big money for the licensee.

For the first time in its history the German Bundespost has dropped its telecommunications monopoly and granted the licence for a new system to another operator.

According to experts' estimates the deal is worth DM8bn. Mannesmann can expect to pocket annual profits to the tune of DM500m.

The prospect of such a good catch triggered an unparalleled tussle in the world's third largest industrial nation.

Ten bidders scrambled to get the licence, each convinced that it had an ace up its sleeve in this game of mobile radio poker.

What does the D2 future hold? First and foremost it promises brilliant technology.

The "D" stands for "digital technology", the ultramodern competitor to the previously analog-operated mobile radio networks B and C.

The latter have a limited loading capacity and can only be operated in West Germany.

D2 introduces a new dimension. The new network will cover eighteen European countries and knows no frontiers.

Each mobile telephone owner can use his phone Europe-wide. He can be contacted by phone from the North Cape to Sicily.

Digital technology ranks as bug-proof; crackling and hissing sounds are no more.

Each country linked to the system is split up into a host of honeycomb-like cells. Each cell has a transmitting and a receiving station, which can cover an area of up to 50 kilometres.

Exchange centres pass on each call, even beyond the "borders" of each individual cells.

This makes sure that even in urban conurbations calls get through straight away and do not die an early death as in the case of the C network, which will nevertheless be retained beyond the year 2000.

All this works with the help of easily portable phones, which will weigh well under 1 kilogram. Some of the phones, which can be purchased at any nearby TV dealer, will be no bigger than a cigarette packet.

The ISDN standard enables data communication and telecopier transmission to any reception point, including to and from a car.

It could thus be linked to a radio motor guidance system to provide drivers with better orientation in unfamiliar locations.

Whereas the currently used C network with its 150,000 users can at most be extended to 450,000 users the D2 network has a capacity ceiling of four million West German users.

Such prospects for future communications will make prices tumble. A C network device currently costs between DM6,000 and DM7,000. The basic monthly rental is DM120 and a minute's phonecall (daytime rate) costs DM1.73 (each unit lasts eight seconds, at night-time 20 seconds).

Doing it digitally will be a lot cheaper. Experts believe that the large number of units produced and computer chips will bring the price of a D network device down to that of a high-quality car radio, which costs roughly DM2,000.

The call charges will drop to about DM1. ...

The introduction of digital technology means the end — by 1993 at the latest — of the old analog-operated B network, where calls had to be connected through the lady at the telephone exchange.

Second-hand C network equipment is also then likely to be sold at bargain prices. There will be one or two competing operators in each country using digital technology.

Two networks are planned in the Federal Republic of Germany: D1 operated by the Deutsche Bundespost Telekom, and D2 operated by a private-enterprise group.

The decision in favour of the Mannesmann group was taken by the Steering Committee, a kind of "Council of Mobile Radio Experts" appointed by the Federal Minister of Posts and Telecommunications.

It is chaired by the Hamburg economics professor Erhard Kantzenbach and has five members from the Posts and Telecommunications, Economics and Research Ministries.

The committee had to work its way through over 10,000 pages of application documents.

The application criteria were professional expertise, technical and operational efficiency and a clear marketing strategy.

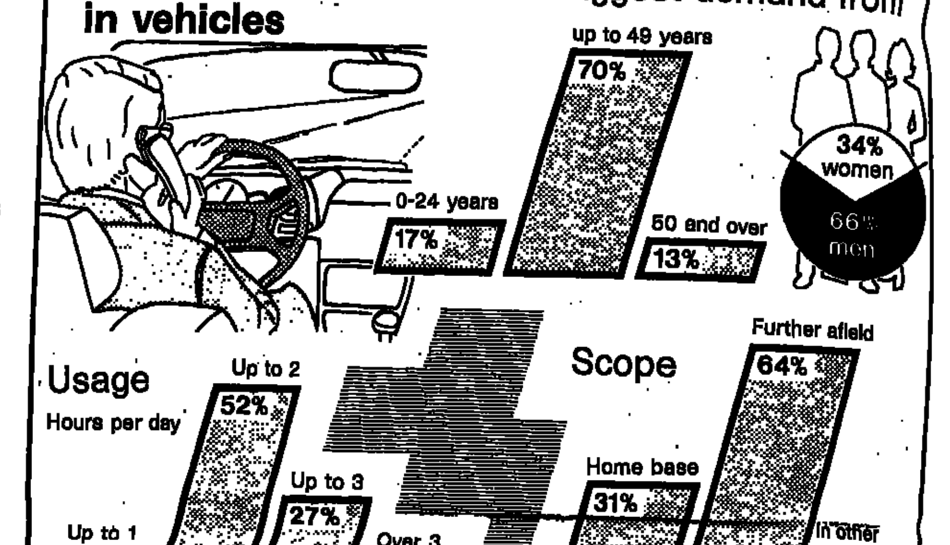
The committee decided to award the contract to the applicant which could provide customers with the fastest and best service at good value for money.

Bonn Minister for Posts and Telecommunications, Christian Schwarz-Schilling, repeatedly emphasised that the choice would be based on efficiency alone and that he had no intention of making a political decision.

However, before the Minister gave his final approval the cabinet and the coalition's parliamentary group made use of their right of control.

The indiscretion led to enormous stock exchange speculations, even though Mannesmann only had a lead of four points in the rating system.

Stock exchange operators apparently knew who would come out on top as soon as the name Mannesmann was announced: its share price immediately increased by DM30 to DM315 and has since moved to DM340.



In the end a giant has won the race, which even had dwarfs in it such as the Munich-based mobile radio company Peitz.

The Düsseldorf-based Mannesmann group has a turnover of DM22bn and a worldwide payroll of almost 130,000 employees (88,300 in the Federal Republic of Germany alone).

It also has first-class partners in the mobile radio business. The consortium leader is Mannesmann Kienzle AG with a 51 per cent stake.

The DG Bank, which will register and settle the call and rental charges for the consortium in future, guarantees extensive representation in the Federal Republic of Germany. It also provides access to property.

This ensures optimum conditions for setting up the roughly four to five thousand transmission and reception stations required.

The quality of the D2 network will depend on the location of the 25-metre transmission towers.

The licence has been awarded for 15 years. Two-thirds of the West German radio reception area must be covered by 1994.

Another Mannesmann partner is Pacific Telesis, a US mobile radio operator with one of the largest customer networks, the British Cable and Wireless group, one of the first operators to establish a digital telephone network in Europe, and the French company Lyonnaise des Eaux.

The crafts are also represented in the consortium. According to the Central Association of German Crafts (ZDH) the project gives small and medium-sized businesses "the chance to successfully work together with a financially powerful partner."

The crafts intend taking on work in the marketing, maintenance and repair segments of the mobile radio network.

The Central Association of German Electrical Trades (ZVEH) and the Central Association of the Motor Trade (ZDK) have their sights set on new fields of activity in the setting up of the system.

Up until recently the Munich investment manager Count Albrecht Matuschka seemed to have a major lobby, since his argument that the government "should not always wait on the big firms" went down well.

He was upset about the recommendation of the Steering Committee, publicly complaining about the "growing concentration in German industry."

The spokesman of the Mannesmann group, Friedrich Schunder, denies such claims. Mannesmann, he says, is neither involved in telecommunications nor in corresponding services.

On 4 December Matuschka had talks with an executive body of the GDR Postal Services Ministry in East Berlin to discuss the perspectives for a new GDR telephone network in the light of the open borders.

The Count envisions that mobile radio could replace the extremely poor terrestrial telephone system in the second German state right from scratch.

It would otherwise take decades and involve tremendous costs to improve the wiring network in the GDR.

There are indications that the participation of the crafts in the Mannesmann consortium tipped the scales in its favour.

Along with Count Matuschka the other eight losers, including consortia with fine-sounding names such as D-TEL (among others BMW and Veba), Mobikom (MAN, Hoesch) and Daimler Benz, sighed at a lost opportunity.

The acquisition of the D2 licence was almost regarded as the acquisition of a right to print money.

Before it can rake in the profits, however, Mannesmann will have to channel some substantial investments into the network. Experts refer to a figure of between DM2bn and DM4bn.

The consortium has the necessary staying power to wait for investment funds to pay for themselves.

Mannesmann now has a tight schedule. Roughly 500 members of staff have been set the task of looking for and buying property and then building the transmission and reception stations as soon as possible.

The screenplay about big money in the market for telephones, the playthings of the rich, therefore, is also now being written in Germany.

Hans Schlemann

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 8 December 198)

Continued from page 3

turncoat who is likely to be turfed out by his own rank and file before long.

So does that mean the GDR will be ruled by Hans Modrow, who wants all, and Gregor Gysi, who knows all, until the general election next May?

Maybe it would be as well not to underestimate the No. 3. Mayor Berghofer, who ranks alongside Premier Modrow as the politician with most public appeal, shrewdly turned down offers of the SED leadership at the special party conference.

"I am working on the assumption," he said, "that a regular party conference will be held in the months ahead and that fresh elections will meanwhile be held at all levels of the party, from the bottom up. A structural rethink can wait until then."

Many options seem wide open. Everything — and everyone — in sight is merely transitional.

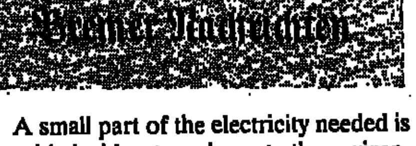
Otto Jörg Weis

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 11 December 1989)

MOTORING

Successful pilot tests mean green light for advanced trials with diesel-electric car





After gathering experience with its prototype of the environmentally clean and energy-saving diesel-electric car "Hybrid I" the Volkswagen group in Wolfsburg is teaming up with the Swiss Technical College (ETH) in Zurich to test a technically upgraded model in a large-scale trial.

Between 40 and 50 Golfs will be converted to the hybrid drive and tested over a period of two years. (Audi is experimenting with a similar model. — Ed.)

This hybrid car can be driven with a battery-powered electric engine in built-up areas and with a diesel engine on fast and steep roads.

In city traffic the electric engine ensures a low-noise and exhaust-free performance.

As soon as the power load increases, for example, when driving up steep hills, at speeds of between 50 or 60 kilometres an hour or when fast acceleration is required, the drive automatically switches over to the internal combustion engine.

The "fleet trial" project, presented by Professor M. Eberle from the Institute of Energy Technology at the ETH in Zurich, will be carried out with vehicles from the "Hybrid II A" and "Hybrid II B" class developed after basic research with the "Hybrid I" model.

The electric engine used for both versions is battery-powered. Batteries are partly charged by the internal combustion engine as the car is running, but most of the power comes from the public mains when the car is off the road.

A small part of the electricity needed is provided without any harm to the environment by the hybrid section.

When the brakes are used during the "electric drive" part of the journey the electric engine acts as a generator and provides electricity which is channelled back into the battery.

This form of feedback, however, is inefficient; only 15 to 20 per cent of the braking energy can be fed back in this way.

The total loss of braking energy accounts for roughly 20 per cent of the total energy needs.

Apart from this braking energy feedback a major advantage of the hybrid concept is that is saves drive energy during slow journeys in city traffic.

At the usual speeds the efficiency of an international combustion engine (10 to 15 per cent) is extremely low, whereas the electric engine can achieve levels of 25 per cent or more.

On open roads and at high speeds, on the other hand, the "Hybrid" can fully utilise the higher efficiency of a combustion engine.

A further substantial advantage is that the emission of car exhaust fumes is shifted away from built-up areas — as in the case of any electric car, which cannot be used for overland and long-distance travel. In addition, the electric drive is very quiet.

The clear advantages of a hybrid drive must, among other things, be achieved at the expense of an increased total weight.

The electric drive will weigh about 35 kilograms; using a sodium-sulphur battery the battery will still at best weigh 90 kilograms.

The "fleet trial" of "Hybrid II A" and "Hybrid II B" will provide fuel consumption and exhaust emission figures indicating what the future has in store for hybrid cars.

The extent to which the increased weight influences actual consumption is one of the unknown parameters.

It is clear, however, that driving habits will have to be changed to take full advantage of the hybrid drive. Driving or putting on the brakes too fast would eliminate the energy-saving potential of the braking energy.

Up to now Volkswagen has invested approximately DM10m in the hybrid drive testing.

The large-scale trial in Zurich for the 40 to 50 converted Golfs will cost between 5.5 and 7.5 million Swiss francs.

The Swiss Federal Government, the canton and the city of Zurich will contribute 700,000 francs and the National Energy Research Fund (NEFF) will chip in 2.5 million francs.

df.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 9 December 1989)

No dummies on duty

Police in a Rhineland town are not to be allowed to use cardboard dummies as a cost-saving way of increasing manpower.

Cologne's regional council chairman, Franz-Josef Antwerpes, has vetoed a request from the town of Siegburg, which wanted to put display dummies dressed in police uniform in patrol cars on roads known for speeding in an attempt to slow traffic down.

During talks in the city council about how to prevent speeding on roads in city centres it became clear that the police cannot increase the number of radar checks.

City councillors came up with the idea of playing a psychological trick on speed maniacs.

Not all flash photographic equipment at traffic light junctions, for example, is always in operation. So why, they asked, should patrol cars always have real policemen inside? Car drivers should get used to the fact that police dummies or real policemen might be sat in patrol cars.

In its application for approval of this idea the city of Siegburg enclosed a report by the police in Herborn (Hesse) confirming that the police were able to calm down traffic by using the police dummies.

Cologne's regional council chairman Antwerpes, however, decided that the dummies would not lead to any "noticeable change in driving behaviour."

Furthermore, he pointed out his fundamental reservations about such "dubious operational methods."

Antwerpes forgot to mention that experts had a different reason for rejecting the trick: crooks might seize the driverless car and used it and the dummy uniforms to commit a crime.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 December 1989)

Fewer deaths

Despite growing traffic congestion in the Federal Republic of Germany and cars which can drive faster and faster the number of deaths on the roads will probably be close to the lowest ever recorded this year.

According to the Federal Statistical Office in Wiesbaden just under 8,000 people will have been killed in road accidents by the end of this year, roughly three per cent less than in 1988.

The estimate is based on the figures for January until August and the provisional figures for September and October.

The lowest figure since the registration of traffic statistics began in 1953 was in 1987 (7,967 deaths).

The number of injured persons is expected to figure at about 447,000, roughly as high as last year's figure.

Although the total number of accidents registered by the police will probaably fall by 20,000 or 1.1 per cent a figure of two million is expected for the second time since 1953.

The most frequent cause of accidents was failure to adjust speed to driving conditions (20 per cent). Alcohol, on the other hand, is not such a major factor as it was last year.

dpa

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 5 December 1989)

The crash lab

During the past 30 years, Daimler-Benz has crashed at least 3,000 of its up-market cars at full speed into concrete walls, crash-barriers or stationary lorries or cars at its production plant in Sindelfingen near Stuttgart.

What was left for accident researchers and development engineers was valuable scrap.

Daimler-Benz decided in 1959 that only tests under practical driving conditions could help improve car safety.

In those days display dummies were used to discover the critical impact threshold in the passenger area.

The main aim of these crashes is to design a car in such a way that "crumple zones" are able to substantially reduce the impact and that the passenger section of the car is damaged as little as possible.

Daimler engineers say the firm is the pioneer of impact tests. A surge in the development of road safety took place in 1969 in the wake of tighter US regulations.

dpa

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 December 1989)

Beware of midday

The risk of being involved in a car accident in built-up areas is at its highest between midday and 3 p.m.

An analysis published by the German Motorists Association ADAC showed that last year just under a fifth of all accidents occurred at this time even though only a seventh of the total traffic volume was on the roads.

Although most crashes were recorded between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. only a quarter of all motorists were en route at that time.

According to the ADAC report the safest period for a city drive is the early-morning rush hour.

Most pile-ups took place on Fridays (39,000) and the least number of pile-ups were recorded on Sundays (21,000). The largest number of accidents occurred in May (36,772).

dpa

(Die Welt, Bonn, 7 December 1989)

THE ARTS

40 years of East Germany: music once again in the shadows of politics

The touring exhibition on "Degenerate Music — Music in the Third Reich" is now showing at the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg.

It has already been presented in Berlin, Munich and other German cities as well as abroad (among other places in Amsterdam and Tel Aviv), where, hardly surprisingly, it met with a particularly critical response.

The repeatedly depressing aspect of this highly embarrassing new encounter with the past is the behaviour of honourable and highly educated yet pliant and hence corruptible musicians in the power apparatus of the Third Reich.

Today we gaze as if spellbound at the collapse of the SED power apparatus in the GDR and witness how the loyalty to the state of its most prominent artists crumbles.

There is no doubt that — as in the Third Reich — the four decades of the GDR's official music policy will bring to light a host of hitherto unknown facts and figures.

During the early post-war years there was still a common potential of German musicians, which also included soloists and directors, despite the Cold War.

Celibidache travelled to the "Eastern Zone" with the, at that time "his", Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Joseph Keilberth directed in the Western Zones, but lived in Dresden and organised important productions in *the East Berlin State Opera House* (which was in the Admiral's Palace back in those days).

In 1949, however, he already stated his position in no uncertain terms: "Once my children start going to school I will have to get out."

Others were similarly sensitive. Erich Kleiber, the designated head of the newly constructed Knobelsdorff building Unter den Linden, resigned his post in anger because he felt that the political arm of the Communist Party was far too long.

This did not seem to bother Franz Konwitschny, who moved to Leipzig and then to Dresden and East Berlin from Hanover in 1949 and who remained one of the renowned bastions of the GDR's music policy until he died in 1962.

His director in Berlin, Hans Pischner, an excellent cembalo player and, in his own words, always a convinced Socialist, has occupied prominent posts since 1950. During recent weeks he has been obliged to admit that there were serious shortcomings in the work of the GDR's Cultural Association.

A much more scrutinous yardstick is now being employed to assess the "good conduct" or lack of it on the part of internationally renowned GDR artists than a few months ago.

This particularly applies to GDR citizens whose origins and reputation demanded a tremendous degree of loyalty to give them preferential treatment through international travel, fees paid in western currencies, state awards and the rest.

Other prominent GDR musicians, who did not want to accept such preferential treatment and who opted for a loss of living in their native land, made their careers abroad, for example, the directors Hauschild, Gühlke or Tennstedt (like Kempe, Schneidt or Richter in the previous generation).



Admittedly, the exodus was limited — whether because of a lack of talents, loyalty to the GDR state or simply the *inability to leave the country.*

The GDR's music "business" was kept going by numerous guests with a foriegn passport: Vaclav Neumann, Hans Vonk or Otmar Suitner in permanent posts or flying visits by Böhm and Kleiber, Colin Davis, Geoffrey Tate and many others.

Prominent musicians and undisputed servants of the state were able to hold high office.

The pianist Dieter Zechlin, for example, whose many recordings attest to his professional abilities, towed the official party line so strictly during the congress of the World Music Council in East Berlin a few years ago that he did not even dare to welcome West Berlin's festival week director Ulrich Eckhardt (the UNESCO in Paris and guilelessly appointed Eckhardt to give the laudatory speech for Messiaen).

In the meantime Zechlin is probably also just as "appalled by the machinations of the corrupt GDR leadership" as Theo Adam was in Munich. Adam handed back the "Star of People's Friendship" he was once awarded.

The excellent trumpeter Güttler, who up until recently did not exactly refrain from underlining his outstanding social role in the GDR ("If the border guards cause any trouble I just complain to the SED regional command, after all I did receive the National Award"), has also now handed back the award.

In the Communist Party newspaper *Neues Deutschland* the GDR music expert and violinist Gustav Schmahl, whose permanent visa also afforded him the most important special privilege, claims that he was "intellectually stunted" during the "almost three decades of our imprisonment."

As adjudicator at the Cologne Kulenkampff Competition only one-and-a-half years ago he informed me about the benefits of life as a musician in the GDR, which is completely different to to the image even described tendentiously in this newspaper.

He should know, since he was principal of the most important music institute in the GDR, the Leipzig College of Music.

Now, however, we read in *Neues Deutschland:* "I maintain that numerous notable talents developed against or despite our colleges of music."

Was Schmahl, despite all his influence, in such a weak position that he can now, no sooner has the pressure from above declined, denounced the former establishment of the GDR's cultural life he himself helped create.

A musician from Munich on a flight to Dresden to play Beethoven's Ninth as a "gift of solidarity" talked of Januses with a permanent visa.

Musicians from Dresden and Leipzig were keen on discussing the new situation in the GDR with their Bavarian colleagues.

One controversial topic was the attitude of the director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Kurt Masur, who has been nominated to become a freeman of the city.

There was a clash of views on his political integrity, although no-one doubted his musical integrity and the fact that he had achieved a great deal for his musicians.

Masur, a good friend of Erich Honecker and for many years the exponent of a regime whose abominable methods are only now being officially realised in the GDR, undoubtedly had his doubts about the regime much earlier.

Those musicians who regard Masur as a father figure claimed that they would never have obtained the new Gewandhaus without his support, which would have made "things a lot worse."

This is reminiscent of the controversies about Furtwängler's position on the Nazi regime.

Musik im Schatten der Politik (Music in the Shadows of Politics) is the name of a famous book which dealt with this gloomy period.

Now that the shadows of the GDR regime are beginning to become less dark and the pressure of the state is on the wane GDR musicians are starting to express their indignation.

In some cases this is surprising and in almost all cases surprisingly sudden.

On the return flight from Dresden one of the Munich musicians summed up the way he felt:

"Let's be grateful that *we* do not have to prove whether we could be martyrs or not."

Albrecht Roeseler

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 7 December 1989)

Public anger turns towards artists who flourished under the system

In a critical appraisal of her impression of current events in the GDR and in the Federal Republic of Germany one clever foreign observer claimed that the Germans are all too in love with the momentary.

This is understandable at a time when momentary changes release so much political and social imaginativeness.

Even people who otherwise tend to be level-headed engage in the wildest of speculations.

Like all sudden feelings, however, the situation can make people blind and is thus accompanied by risks.

Not only in the centres of the non-violent revolution in the GDR but also right down to the level of small towns and villages the phase of the expulsion of the "corrupt old men" of the Politburo (Wolf Biermann) and the shattering of the regime it established from within will be followed by a period of retribution.

In this context many eyes turn to those artists, of whom there are plenty, who benefited in one way or another from the former system, either through public employment contracts at home or by more or less accepting the privileges of being allowed to publish or even appear (to travel freely to and fro) in the West.

The privilege for which they were envied yesterday now arouses suspicion.

Even Heiner Müller and Christa Wolf have felt these reservations because of their own special positions, at least during the last few years of the rule of the former regime.

Müller, for example, not only received the highest literary award which exists in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Darmstadt Büchner Prize, but also the highest recognition of the GDR, the National Award.

Among the painters Werner Tübke, Bernhard Heisig (who also painted a portrait of Helmut Schmidt) and Wolfgang Mattheuer were able to build up their reputations through contract work and exhibitions both in the GDR and in the West.

This included a personal life-style with all the freedom to travel and perks which remained unattainable for the majority of people in the GDR.

According to reports in Leipzig the windows of Tübke's house were smashed in and his Swedish limousine wrecked just a few days ago.

There are rumours that he has bought himself a Wartburg and driven down to Austria on holiday.

He has a silk handkerchief — so off with his head.

Will the ownership of large houses and western cars now be used in evidence against the integrity of individuals like the ownership of a handkerchief once was against the aristocrats after 1789?

Although there is an understandable anger at the mismanagement of the former rulers in the GDR, an anger which is now also being directed at those who were useful to the system as representatives of the official cultural activities of the state, excesses such as the attack on Tübke's property reflect elements of the fatal German self-righteousness and thorough arrogance which is damaging and shameful (not only in this phase of our history).

During his concert in Leipzig on 1 December Wolf Biermann warned against acts of revenge. The applause was pretty weak, a bad sign.

Although most of the artists from the GDR who presented their works in the Federal Republic of Germany were not exactly prosecutors of the GDR government — who could have asked this of them? — they were not enthusiastic yesmen. This also applies to Tübke.

The personal situation of privileged persons who want publicity for their work and need a certain protection of the state to do so has always been difficult.

In the end, however, it is their work which counts.

It would not be a sign of the strength of the new moral principles of "the people" if public anger at the corrupt system now takes its revenge on those who just wanted to continue thinking, writing or painting within the constraints of a society they may themselves have basically rejected.

Peter Iden

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 December 1989)

WARHOL EXHIBITION

Why a tin of Campbell's soup is much more than a mere tin of Campbell's soup

The name Andy Warhol is like a push-button mind-opener to a whole supermarket of mental associations.

The store includes tins of Campbell's soup, Brillo boxes, dollar notes, psychedelic flowers, electric chairs, monotonous cow-covered wallpaper, Marilyn, Mao and Mona Lisa.

Not to forget the man himself. His hollow-cheeked, unbearably well-known and omnipresent pimpled face stares at us beneath a clown's wig: pink, yellow and green.

His cool talk called the original a do-it-yourself puzzle, the work of art an anonymous conveyor-belt product and the artist a machinist. And this a hundred, a thousand times, in vertiginous and pounding multiplicity.

This is the fatal effect of any re-encounter with Warhol and his obtrusively catchy pop world. You are, or think you are, familiar ad nauseam with its vulgar charm.

Warhol, the anti-artist, thief and cliché salesman, whose declared goal was to rid art of its last secrets and reduce the artistic to the pure surface, was only too well aware of this fact and delighted like a child in his colourful inflation of pictures.

Despite this déjà-vu effect, or perhaps precisely because of it, Andy Warhol, the uncrowned king of the pop era and a cult figure of the international art scene, is experiencing an unparalleled posthumous triumph.

As in New York, Chicago and London people are flocking to Cologne's Museum Ludwig, the exhibition's only German stop, to look at the world through Warhol's eyes.

At a venue where pop art found one of its earliest patrons, Peter Ludwig, 160 paintings, serigraphs, sketches, items and films are on display in the first comprehensive Warhol retrospective organised by the Museum of Modern Art since Warhol died in 1987.

To coincide with the monographic catalogue by and with Kynaston McShine (Prestel publishers: DM98) the DuMont Buchverlag has published a German translation of David Bourdon's Warhol monography in an opulent presentation (432 pages, DM148). The book really is a "comprehensive, detailed and, last but not least, critical" publication.

It exposes the myth, the masquerades and the marketing strategies employed by Warhol and gives the reader an insight into the advertising studio of the early years and the multimedial sensation machine, the big shredding machine of the "Factory."

Any *abgesang* of a superstar cannot but be gigantic. But how could a Warhol appraisal be "critical"?

An artist whose sole endeavour was to undermine all aesthetic criteria and stylise himself into the artistic figure of a cynical showaster and vendor of pictures?

A man who covered up the traces of his life so well that a whole pack of critics were led onto the wrong tracks as they chased behind him to discover the "real Warhol"?

Who was the man behind all the larvae, the last of which was a pictoresque-abstract and almost gesticulatory camouflage above his self-portrait?

Even Bourdon, an authority on Warhol, can simply confirm that Warhol was "shy and at the same time self-confident."

Other writers are also unable to do more than gather paradoxes, such as naive and clever, shy and thirsty for fame.

Above all Warhol's origins are a plausible part of the otherwise oscillating picture of his character.

Andrew Warhola, the assiduous child of Czech immigrants, felt the American urge to overcome the barriers of his triste working class milieu at an early age and make it to the top at all costs.

His hunger for fame was insatiable. He doggedly pursued his goal of himself becoming one of the glittering stars whose images he had printed and filmed and which accompanied him wherever he went.

Warhol made the relativity principle of modern mass society, which recognises everything as equal and also as its opposite, as his own artistic principle.

In his own bisexual existence he was everyman: an artist and a charlatan, a cynical businessman and a melancholic observer of our times, a court painter of "snobiety" and an avant-gardist loner — a quite banal artistic figure of considerable importance.

Warhol's enervating ambivalence has to be taken seriously, above all the contradiction that the significant is to be found in the insignificant.

Warhol's principle of total inter- changeability and permeability, his method of trivialising the heroic, and his technique of forcing the reproduced clichés of the awareness industry through endless multiplication and variation, and thus enlargement and coarse outlines, corresponds precisely with the practices of our media world. Warhol's art is part of it. The desperate attempt is made again and again to integrate his pictures and objects into art history contexts, to establish iconographic and formal links to Duchamp, Minimal Art and, more recently, even to abstract and gesticular currents, as if Warhol requires some kind of art history legitimation. The only interesting aspect in this respect is probably the transformation from a painting-style and graphic picture and advertising material, culminating in the famous Air Crash (1962), to the serial silk-screen prints.



Andy tried to reduce art to pure surface with *Two Elvis*, 1963. He succeeded. (Photo: Museum Ludwig, Cologne)

Silk-screen painting gave him the ideal technique to present his chosen idols and stereotypes of the day.

Warhol's technique never basically moved beyond clever manipulations of advertising art, the effective arrangement of isolated snapshot motives or silhouettes, colours and surfaces.

However, he was one of the first to use photographic and cinematic reproduction as a means of design. He utilised the effect of monotonous repetition, faulty print variants, without dropping the use of tried and tested techiques such as collage and his own art advertising experience.

Perhaps Warhol must already be viewed as an ancestor of our pluralistic state of art, which is often labelled "post-modern."

However, the question of style is much more exciting and consequential, the "trademark" of his mechanised and placatively reduced superficial art.

The concept character of his pictures is much more important than any content aspect.

As a "complete chronicle" of our age his motives, which are often not even based on up-to-date material, are often extremely overrated. Warhol did not want to be a reporter or social critic.

The "picture-hunter" liked to shoot down his stars with the polaroid camera. He roamed in the *musée imaginaire* as uninhibitedly as he did in the salons of bored VIPs, and his pictures of catastrophe were provided by the popular press free of charge.

Yet it is precisely in their demonstrative arbitrariness that Warhol's silk-screen prints say very little about the reality he presents, albeit a great deal about the awareness of modern media man and his indifferent response to second-hand truths.

Warhol's pictures hold up a mirror to society so that it can derive pleasure in recognising itself. Not only made-up stars and pleasantly packaged goods, but also human catastrophes seen excitingly "pretty" in this mirror.

Warhol's pictures, very American pictures, deal with the world as it is "visually" consumed, not with the world as it is. At least that is the way we see it from our hopelessly European perspective.

The exhibition of Warhol's works, therefore, becomes a captivating demonstration of an open secret: about Warhol's "great" America under the conditions of a dictatorship which is just as gentle as it is relentless: the dictatorship of pictures.

Wolfgang Rainer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 December 1989)

ENERGY

Experimental plant aims at producing by fusion instead of fission



A new fusion experiment installation (Asdex-Upgrade) is being constructed at the Max Planck Institute of Plasma Physics (IPP) in Garching near Munich.

On completion it will be the biggest fusion centre in the Federal Republic of Germany and will help investigate key aspects of fusion research under conditions similar to those in a proper reactor.

Roughly 25 West German and foreign firms companies were involved in the production of the main components of the experiment.

Altogether several hundred firms contributed towards the construction and assembly of Asdex-Upgrade.

The experiment, the assembly of which began following the delivery of the first construction components in 1988, is scheduled to go into operation in 1990.

The aim of fusion research is to develop a fusion reactor which can obtain energy from the fusion of atomic nuclei.

The fuel used for fusion is a very thin ionised gas — a so-called "plasma" — comprising the two hydrogen isotopes deuterium and tritium.

To ignite the fusion fire the plasma is enclosed in ring-like magnetic fields and heated to high temperatures.

Above a temperature of 100 million degrees centigrade the plasma begins to burn, there is a fusion of the hydrogen nuclei into helium, and useful energy is released.

Now that fusion research has solved the problem of stably enclosing plasma which is adequately compact and heating it to the necessary ignition temperature the interaction between the hot plasma and the surrounding walls has become one of the main research topics.

Although the hot ring of plasma inside the vacuum container is kept in a hovering position the plasma does come into contact with the surrounding walls at its periphery.

Under unfavourable conditions undesired impurities intermingle with the plasm, not only damaging the wall but also preventing the insulation of heat needed to ignite the core plasma.

The IPP experiment Asdex (Axial-symmetrical Divertor Experiment) has made a decisive contribution towards overcoming this problem.

Whereas in previous experiments the tube of plasma was delimited on the outside by material filters this takes place in the Asdex system without virtually any contact between the plasma and the walls.

The entire peripheral layer of plasma is magnetically diverted into separate side-chambers. The plasma particles, therefore, only come into contact with a material wall in a cooled state and far away from the hot plasma core. These peripheral particles can then be pumped off. This makes sure that the disruptive impurities — which also include the "fusion ash" helium in burning plasma — are removed from the plasma. At the same time the wall of the plasma container is left undamaged and guarantees a good heat isolation of the fuel. The results of the Asdex experiment were so significant that the joint European experiment JET (Joint European Torus) in Culham (England) is currently being converted to operate in line with the divertor principle. A future reactor will also work with a divertor.

Taking the con out of fusion at Garching. *(Photo: IPP)*

However, as a pure physics experiment Asdex achieved its success with a divertor construction which was neither directly suitable in technical terms for reactor use nor obliged to take the strain of the effects in a really hot and compact reactor plasma.

It is hoped that the successor model Asdex-Upgrade will take the project into a new dimension by analysing the divertor under conditions which both physically and technically resemble those in a reactor.

The experiment will obtain information for the next major experiment planned in the European fusion programme, which intends achieving an ignited plasma for the first time.

Asdex-Upgrade can still do without a burning plasma and full reactor size to achieve its scientific objectives.

In order to study the interaction between the plasma and the wall under reactor-like conditions it is physically quite adequate to reproduce the peripheral layer of the plasma, i.e. the outer ten centimetres of the reactor plasma.

So as to produce a wall pressure of 30 watts per square centimetre a heating input of 12 to 15 Megawatts is planned, which has to be provided for up to seven seconds.

Together with the demand for a divertor which can be used in an actual reactor situation the conditions of the plasma properties are determined by the exterior dimensions of the equipment used: the research object, the ring of plasma, will have a radius of 1.70 metres and a volume of 13 cubic metres.

The encompassing magnetic fields will primarily be charged by 16 large magnetic coils, which are threaded along the ring-like plasma container.

Together with 17 addition coils for the divertor, the heating, the regulation of the shape and position of the plasma and the supports for the magnetic coils the entire experimental apparatus is, thus nine metres high and weighs 700 tons.

Although Asdex-Upgrade will not use the radioactive fusion fuel tritium for its experiments the plasma values are so advanced that fusion reactions already take place in the model plasma between normal hydrocarbon and deuterium.

In order to provide protection from the resultant fusion neutrons the experiment was erected in a hall with walls two metres thick and a ceiling 1.80 metres thick.

The 8,000 cubic metres of concrete can safely absorb an annual dose of 1019 neutrons.

The activation of the equipment thus remains so low that — when it is not in operation — the experiment area is accessible at all times.

The Asdex-Upgrade installation was designed after 1981 by a team of about 23 engineers and physicists.

The first industrial orders for the completion of primary components — the plasma container, the magnetic coils and their supports — were placed in 1983.

As IPP activities are integrated into the European fusion programme the investment costs of approximately DM200m were financed together with the European research authority Euratom.

Tenders were also invited on a Europe-wide basis.

About 25 firms were involved in the from the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, France and Switzerland were involved in the production of the main components.

As the construction components are exactly tailored to the unique scientific purpose of this experiment many parts of the machine are special one-off productions with correspondingly high demands on the innovative skills of the supplier firms.

Full advantage was taken of the whole range of modern materials, and known technologies were often combined in an interesting way.

The production of the main field coils, for examply, weighing ten tons respectively was initially a task for normal heavy engineering.

The 2.5-metre magnetic coils consist of solid copper bars of a hand's breadth, which have to be bent exactly into the desired D-shape of the coils, then assembled and soldered in 24 individual threads per coil.

Since each thread is also insulated with glass-fibre tape and cast in synthetic resin all stages of work have to be carried out in an absolutely clean room — unusual working conditions for mechanical engineers.

Isabella Milch

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 9 December 1989)

FOOD

Question of irradiation opens up a can of wriggly, non-irradiated worms

The most frequent source of radiation for food preservation is cobalt-60; caesium-137 is also used. It is a controversial area. Rainer Müller reports for *Saarbrücker Zeitung*.

The European Community intends doing its utmost to make sure that consumers move into a "radiant" food consumption future at the beginning of 1993.

Like so many aspects of its heavily criticised policy of harmonisation at all costs this project is hotly disputed.

The Community feels that previous forms of food preservation are not enough; it now wants to make food less perishable and safer by treating it with radioactive rays.

This is already common practice in some countries. The Israelis expose potatoes, onions, garlic, spices, meat and poultry to radiation. Irradiation is also permitted in South Africa, the USA and Yugoslavia.

Up to now it has not been allowed in the Federal Republic of Germany, which does not mean that radiation-treated food is not sold here.

The spices for export markets treated in German radiation plants, for example, can easily be reimported.

Detection techniques leave a great deal to be desired. Full-proof methods of identifying goods treated by radiation speedily and definitively are expected to exist in about four to five years time.

The West German Federal Health Office (BGA), however, has developed a detection technique for spices and dried vegetables.

It is known as the thermoluminescence and, according to Dr Klaus-Werner Bögl from the BGA, it is "surefire."

The unusual aspect of this approach is that the detected emissions of light result from mineral impurities which can never be eliminated.

The scientists at the Federal Health Office view the problem of radiation for food rationally and scientifically.

"Several hundred publications deal with the subject of food radiation treatment," says Dr Bögl. "97 per cent see no danger, three per cent feel that it is dangerous."

Bögl by no means tries to play down the problem by pointing out that other forms of treating food are also harmful: smoking, salting (both officially recognised as causes of stomach cancer) and the use of preservatives.

"Irradiation is not without risk," say the BGA scientists, "but associated with the same risks as other forms of treatment."

Bögl underlines that this is a grey area and that "new insights could already be gained tomorrow."

He insists that potential risks must be accepted, adding that food in itself is not harmless.

Of course, not everybody takes this view.

In terms of the normal measuring range the food does not become radioactive through radiation treatment; but there is a danger that small quantities of new compounds (radiotoxins) might be created which have not so far been fully identified.

Although the BGA admits that toxins probably are produced it claims that these are not radiation-specific, in other words that they are also produced through other types of food treatment.

The BGA is also unimpressed by the critical reference to cell changes resulting from radiation.

Critics maintain that cells die which are essential to good health and that important vital substances (vitamins) are substantially reduced.

Measurements have shown that the vitamin C content is reduced by a 5 kgy dosis of radiation in the case of paprika from 105mg per 100 grams to 25 milligrams.

In the case of potatoes a radiation dosis of only 0.1 to 1 kgy leads to a 50 per cent loss of vitamin C content.

Other forms of food treatment also result in quality losses. The vitamin content is reduced, for example, by frying and cooking; when deeply frozen the cells burst.

The question is whether such losses should be viewed differently or on a par with losses caused by radiation.

The BGA is certain that most changes in the food structure are not radiation-specific, but does concede that "not all changes which take place are known yet."

On the whole, the Federal Health Office tends to be restrained in its comments on food radiation.

With regard to the Federal Republic of Germany only a limited need is felt to exist for an extension of the non-peris hability of food. The situation is already well-organised and "radiation has at most economic reasons."

The BGA also clearly feels that more should be done to eliminate pathogenic microorganisms in food.

Many consumers do not known that roughly 100,000 food infections are expected every year in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Radiation treatment for a group of spices, therefore, is regarded as important because no other technique is as effective in the case of these products.

The BGA, however, only refers to spices used for industrial processing, not to the small quantities kept for use in the kitchen.

Dr Bögl takes the example of black pepper. Sometimes a figure of 100 million microorganisms per gram is assumed to exist in the case of this condiment — a figure of less than 10,000 microorganisms is viewed as unproblematic.

Experts also feel that radiation should be considered in the case of the millions of ready-to-serve chickens prepared in German homes.

Poultry is often contaminated by salmonella. If the meal is properly heated there is no risk, but problems arise when chicken are thawed.

The hands of the housewives often come into contact with the liquid which drips off the thawing chicken. If they dress a salad at the same time the risk of transfer is there.

What is more harmless or more dangerous, salmonella poisoning or radiation? Both risks need to be quantified, and precisely this is virtually impossible.

Radiation treatment for food — yes or no? Because of the lack of scientific information a conclusive answer cannot yet be given.

The Federal Health Office agrees that there is a residual risk and advises the Federal Government only to accept radiation treatment for certain spices.

The following comparison gives an indication of how this residual risk is assessed.

If he had to choose for health reasons between not eating radiation-treated food or grilled food one member of the BGA staff said he would stop grilling.

Despite the assumption of a very low risk most scientists would probably agree that a general go-ahead for radiation treatment for food should not be given until the radiobiological and toxicological questions have been convincingly clarified.

If this proves impossible before 1993 a large number of radiation-treated food products can be expected to line shelves in West German shops.

If this cannot be prevented consumers could at least expect clear labelling to allow them to choose between food which has been treated by radiation and food which has not.

One can only hope that such compulsory labelling will not already be viewed by the European Community as a barrier to trade.

Rainer Müller

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 7 December 1989)

Never let the sigmoid factor ruin a nice, toxic meal

Hormones in animal feed, asbestos in building materials, formaldehyde as a preservative, radioactively contaminated whey, glycol in wine and dioxin in mother's milk — just some of the environment scandals which have caused a big stir during recent years.

The key question each time was: how high is the risk of becoming ill after coming into contact with, eating or drinking the pollutants?

Can substances which are classed as possibly carcinogenic be dangerous in even minute doses?

The effects of glycol in wine or hormone additives in calf fattening, for example, were undoubtedly overrated. At least with regard to health risks, said Professor Gotthard Schettler (Heidelberg) during a symposium organised by the Institute of Industrial and Social Medicine in Erlangen.

"Hormones may make meat watery and it may no longer taste good, and glycol may turn wine into oily sugared water, but you do not get cancer from it," Professor Schettler emphasised.

He underlined how difficult it is to assess the real risk, especially since physicians do not learn enough about these aspects during their studies.

Normally the best way of assessing risks is through observation. In other words, simply wait and see what happens.

In view of the 80,000 chemical compounds in everyday use, however, an impossible task.

What is more, a lot of these substances are so dangerous that the medical world just cannot afford to wait to see whether they really are dangerous or not before taking action.

Today, a great deal can be assessed on the basis of experiments on animals. For example, how toxic a substance is, whether it has harmful effects on descendants, whether it interferes with the metabolism and whether it harms the organism after a short time or only after a longer period.

Professor G. Zbinden (Zurich), however, complained that in too many instances toxicologists have "made mistakes and not used their brains properly."

Questions were often not dealt with in sufficient detail and the inferences drawn from animal experiments for human beings were incorrect.

Furthermore, there have been too many cases of generalisations.

"There is no such thing as the average citizen," said Zbinden. "It's impossible to lump together men, women, children, pregnant women, smokers, non-smokers, alcoholics, diabetics or old people in one category."

The result is that damage is often discovered too late, even though it could have been foreseen on the basis of animal experiments.

An additional problem is the fact that, in the final analysis, scientific methods cannot prove that a substance is completely harmless. Not even in the case of such officially "harmless" substances such as sugar or water. Once again toxicity depends on the dosage.

"We cannot provide scientific proof of the non-existence of a risk," Professor Zbinden pointed out. "For we cannot rule out with absolute certainty that there is something harmful in even the smallest dosage."

This is main problem facing toxicology and industrial medicine. Can even the smallest amounts of a substance cause cancer?

Or can its effect in minor dosages be neglected?

The primary question is where to draw the line between harmlessness and harmfulness.

Up to now there has been no such "threshold value." If a substance was classed as carcinogenic it retained this label no matter how low the amount.

This has become a bone of contention among experts.

Professor W.K. Lutz from the University of Zurich feels that experts frequently work on the assumption of a linear relationship, in other words that the risk increases proportionately to the dosage.

"In reality, however, the shape of the curve is probably sigmoid. This means that we have a longish initial phase and two peak phases.

"The first results when a special high-risk section of the population is observed, the second relates to more robust persons who also at some stage reach the limit of their resistance."

This trajectory of the dosage-effects relationship is not the real problem, but the length of the individual sections of the curve.

In practice this means that is is still unclear beyond which point a substance can actually be described as carcinogenic.

Hardly any data exists in this respect in the lower dosages areas.

Professor Huge W. Rüdiger (Hamburg) is convinced that a decisive aspect in the assessment of carcinogenic substances is

Continued on page 15

TERRORISM

The ideologically isolated Red Army Faction appears to have rejected kidnapping

The Red Army Faction (RAF) has struck again. On the morning of 30 November they murdered Alfred Herrhausen, head of the Deutsche Bank, West Germany's largest.

The attack took place in Bad Homburg, a district just outside Frankfurt, and was yet another bloody crime in the long history of West Germany's terrorism.

The RAF terror began more than 20 years ago on 2 April 1968, when Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin set fire to a Frankfurt department store.

This act of arson was to have been a protest against the Vietnam War and was intended to mobilise the "masses" for the revolution. A little later Baader and his band declared war on capitalist society as a whole.

The driving agent for the terror was an indeterminate hatred of a system which they described as "fascist." The co-founders of the RAF committed suicide in the Stammheim Prison, Stuttgart, in 1977. Since then the third generation of terrorists are now placing bombs and committing murder.

But the victims are now different from the victims of the first RAF squads. More and more frequently leaders of West Germany's industrial and commcerial life have been the victims of the RAF killer squads: Jürgen Ponto of the Dresden Bank, Hanns Martin Schleyer, president of the Employers' Association and the Confederation of German Industry, Ernst Zimmermann, a Siemens executive, Karl Heinz Beckurts of the Foreign Office and finally Alfred Herrhausen.

The RAF squad did not want to strike down Herrhausen the man, but Herrhausen the figure in public life. As no one else Herrhausen, head of the Deutsche Bank and chairman of the Daimler-Benz supervisory board, represented for the RAF the connection of "capital" to the "arms industry."

According to the abstruse self-justifications from the Red Army Faction, Herr Herrhausen was deeply involved in the merger of Daimler-Benz with MBB, the centre of the "Military-Industrial Complex," which has been the main target of all RAF attacks in the past few years.

The dilemma which faces the terrorists is obvious from a sober analysis of the present RAF "fight." The murder of Alfred Herrhausen could not cover up the differences between the hard core of the so-called "upper command," numbering about 15, and the forty or so RAF members who are in prison. These difference sparked off the whole course and point of the hunger strike of RAF prisoners early this year.

There are considerable communications and cooperation difficulties between the "commandos" outside prison and the prisoners. The last hunger strike was mounted without the support of the RAF "upper command."

To this is linked the fact that the wire-puller of the strike, Helmut Pohl, had been pushed into a position which was be not acceptable to the urban guerillas on the outside.

In a letter at the end of October Pohl wrote that the prisoners "had seized from others the initiative for themselves." It sounded like an admission of a changed situation between the "upper



command" and the prisoners.

Pohl added that the new phase of the fight would probably take a new course, less uniform, less as a continuing process and more as individual operations than had been the case in the past.

When Pohl was committing this to paper the terrorist squad had long planned the murder of the head of the Deutsche Bank. Alfred Herrhausen's murder was committed without the approval of the RAF prisoners, an indication that the leadership still lay clearly with the "upper command."

These events show the weaknesses and differences of the present generation of RAF members in comparison with the "patriarchs" of West German terrorism.

On the one hand an operation perfectly carried out, an ignition mechanism in a light barrier: on the other hand a meagre note with the RAF emblem, without an explanation for the act, left at the scene of the crime.

The "upper command" is not prepared to argue any longer: it just kills. The letter of accusation, only delivered a few days after the bloodbath in Bad Homburg, changed nothing.

A second conclusion could be drawn from this. The present RAF is very isolated in the extreme-left wing as a whole. The attempt made a few years ago to build up an "anti-imperialist front in Western Europe," to counter this development, came to nothing.

With the arrest of the leaders of the French Action Directe (AD) on 21 February 1987 in Vitry-aux-Loges, and the suppression of the Belgian wing of Action Directe, the CCC, the RAF lost important European partners.

Then nothing came of the attempt to find a partner with the Italian Red Brigade.

The approach to explain the murder attempt on Dr Tietmeyer, state secretary in the Finance Ministry, on 22 September last year in Bonn, as a joint operation between the Red Army Faction and the Red Brigade, with a view to future cooperation, came to nothing. Before this operation in Bonn the Italian authorities in Rome arrested 21 members of the Red Brigade.

This meant that in European terrorism the RAF is on its own.

But this does not alter the fact that the "upper command", the 15 or so RAF members in the underground, is still in the position to be highly "successful" tactically and from an operations point of view.

The murder of Herr Herrhausen was evidence of the perfection with which the present-day RAF murders. There were hardly any clues of any value at the scene of the murder. The crime and the getaway of the criminals was meticulously planned.

Security officials and terrorism experts know as little about the RAF in 1989 as they did about terrorists in previous years.

There are reasons for this. Officials investigating RAF terrorists are no longer "in the know" about the immediate circle of RAF terrorists, to say nothing of the tough core of the group.

Trails have led to nothing. Looking for the criminals is like looking for a needle in a haystack. The murderers of the diplomat von Braunmühl and the Siemens executive Beckurts have still not been arrested.

After new attacks such as the one against Alfred Herrhausen the same questions are constantly asked in the media by the experts, and the same helplessness prevails.

Perhaps all those who have participated in the fight against terrorism in the past adhere to viewpoints which are out-dated. It is assumed there is a pattern in RAF planning: every hunger strike is suspiciously regarded as the harbinger of another disaster, and the prisoners are observed for signs of an operation to be mounted outside. These are the tried and tested acts of the state and its anti-terrorist organisations.

There is just one thing that has gone unnoticed: the terrorists' fantasy and the energy of the "upper command." For a long time it has proven its swift and predictable pattern of behaviour.

The hard core of the RAF no longer clings to "overall" ideological concepts, as did the old RAF members. Their credo is pure murder, killing for killing's sake. The third generation of RAF hard core members have a killer's mentality.

The historical events being played out in Eastern Europe, the changes in the German Democratic Republic, are ignored and not discussed.

The new RAF generation does not go in for arguments of justification. This underlines the decline of the "classical" RAF.

The Federal Republic's left-wing terrorism as a guerilla movement is dead. A meagre number of the extreme left-wing will applaud the murder of Alfred Herrhausen, a group which hates the system.

But the tactical and operative sector of the RAF is still intact. The killers can go on murdering, for the structure and criminal behaviour of the RAF has changed decisively over the past few years.

The "upper command" operates in small groups, sometimes the smallest possible. Two or three people carry out an operation. Their living style is completely inconspicuous, unknown to investigators.

The commandoes live sealed off in the underground. There they develop their know-how for the next attack. The planning is characterised by professionalism, know-how and high-technology. Remote-controlled bombs are playing an ever greater role in their activities.

They no longer seem to be interested in "kidnapping." Such a plan is from the very outset too risky and uncertain. Furthermore a kidnapping, along the lines of the abduction of Hanns Martin Schleyer, calls for well planned logistics and is more costly in personnel than the placing of a treacherous bomb.

Terrorist investigators must more and more turn to this concept of the enemy. Investigators must gear themselves up to the "rich imagination" of the terrorists. Security measures for the people most endangered must be adjusted to the altered methods of the terrorists.

After an attack apportioning blame and controversy about investigation methods achieve nothing.

Within the context of Alfred Herrhausen's murder, Christian Lochte, head of Hamburg's anti-terrorist squad, rightly called for more information about the surroundings and movements of endangered people. The police and anti-terrorist officials must work close together.

In fact it is at this point that there is the first and sole chance of getting round the RAF terrorists' concept.

Despite being sealed off from contacts, terrorists must come out of the shadows to prepare for an attack. This is their weakness and at the same time the chance for anti-terrorist investigators to get at them.

After the murder of Alfred Herrhausen, the investigation of terrorism must be more involved at the police tactics level and not be eaten away by pointless political discussions about the situation of the RAF prisoners. The RAF's killer clique is already planning the next attack.

Rolf Tophoven

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 8 December 1989)

No mention of any pan-European front after this killing

The note of justification, which the RAF terrorists widely distributed in Bonn after the murder of the head of the Deutsche Bank, Alfred Herrhausen, was similar to the texts issued after other attacks.

The text read: "The personalities in this system must appreciate that their crimes have created for them embittered enemies and that there is no place in the world where they could be safe from guerilla attack."

The letter said that the history of the Deutsche Bank had been involved in two bloody world wars, had exploited millions, and Alfred Herrhausen had been at the top of the centre of power in German industry.

The note said that in Europe and all over the world the Deutsche Bank had become a symbol for power and domination, "which clashed with the fundamental interests of people to live in dignity and self-determination."

There were hints in the text that a joint terrorist front was essential. "Only together, as a front against imperialism, can we carry through in Western Europe, together with freedom fighters all over the world, a uniform, international and durable change."

Unlike in the past there was no mention of a pan-European front as was the case a few years ago. The RAF tried to cooperate with French and Italian terrorist groups, which was connected to murders planned in Paris and near Munich in 1985.

But there is no evidence that the attack on Herr Herrhausen was planned with foreign terrorist groups. Even the explosives did not come from a robbery in Belgium in the mid-1980s.

In the RAF's "note of justification" there was no mention of cooperation with Italian groups. In fact the note said: "All of us, the whole revolutionary movement in Europe, is at a new departure."

There have been reports in the Italian press that the Deutsche Bank has long been under the surveillance of Italian ter-

Continued on page 16

CRISIS IN EAST GERMAN SPORT

All tracks lead West to the money and away from an angry public

The winter clearance sale has long begun. On offer at bargain basement prices: sports stars from East Germany.

A man emerging rapidly as a leading entrepreneur in this new business is Reiner Calmund, the shrewd manager of West German Bundesliga soccer club Bayer Leverkusen. He has already got two big catches, Andreas Thom and Matthias Sammer, as others were only getting round to thinking about it.

Some journals refer to him as the "Godfather of the Bundesliga" because he knows telephone numbers in the East that no one can possible know; and because he can go into a high-rise apartment block in East Berlin and find who he is looking for even though no names are on any doors.

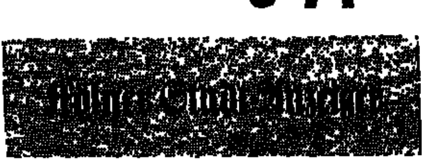
Handball player Holger Krause from Leipzig has been picked up by TV Grosswallstadt, ice-hockey international Dieter Frenzel has found a place with EC Ratingen, gymnast Andreas Hahn has left East Berlin to go to TK Hanover, decathlete Thomas Neumann is now with USC Mainz and soccer player Ulf-Volker Probst, formerly with Rotation Berlin, is with the Brunswick Bundesliga club, Eintracht Braunschweig.

The sale will continue. Since the Wall has been holed, the propaganda for the attractions of socialism has given way to propaganda for the attractions of capitalism.

Berthold Beitz, former vice-president of the International Olympic Committee, has warned western interests not to play the rich uncle. Uli Hoeness, manager of the soccer club Bayern München, goes even further and describes Calmund as a "slave trader". Winfried Schäfer, trainer of Bundesliga soccer club Karlsruhe: "It is disgraceful how some clubs are going to East Germany with suitcases full of money to recruit players."

Let's go west. The exodus is programmed. Volker Kluge, of the East German newspaper *Junge Welt*, says that "the danger of a sellout of top East German sport cannot be dismissed lightly."

Klaus Eichler, president of the umbrella sports organisation, DTSB, when asked



why the names of sportsmen, coaches and various specialists who had decamped to the West were not published, said: "Because the list would be like a telephone book."

Is this a time of change for East German sport or a time of collapse? *For many* years, competitive sport was the most glamorous prop of the system. It was the most popular stuff of propaganda in the worker- and peasant state. The 102 medals won at the Olympics at Seoul was intended as a demonstration to the entire world of the strength of the nation.

Sport at this level used to decide many political values in East Germany. Roland Matthes, who won four gold medals for East Germany as a swimmer: "In a society which set great store on performance yet in which nothing in the economy could be spot-lighted, sport had to do the image-making."

And today? With the opening of the borders, a great deal of the motivation is lost. Travel, hard currency, privileges, which used to be the reason why so many spent so many hours in the drudgery and torture of training are no longer enough.

Katarina Witt used to be the pin-up favourite of East German sport. She drove about in her Porsche wherever she wanted to and earned big money at tournaments and film appearances in the West. Now others can travel around too and earn in the West. Why grind out a living when there is a mark to be earned in the West?

Then there is the ingratitude: many competitors have felt that in the past few weeks. Envy, hate, abuse were for the top sports people the legacy of East Germany at the end. The car belonging to swimmer Heike Friedrich had its windows broken; the tyres of world speed skating champion Constanze Moser's car were punctured; Olympic discus champion Martina Hellmann has been threatened ("We're going to throw your child out the window"); and Roland Matthes himself, who was in the 1970s blown up as the Wunderkind of the system, did not come away unscathed: anonymous calls, bottles thrown in front of his garage and the local service station refused to sell him benzine.

Although he was a mere month away from qualifying as a specialist orthopaedic doctor, he left his home in Erfurt and went to the West, to friends in the Palatinate. He is shocked and disillusioned over this "mass hysteria": "I did believe that many were proud of our successes." They have remained symbols of the system at a time when the anger of the people of East Germany is aimed at the senior party officials and other privileged groups. The anger is understandable. Just as the political system has these days developed a new honesty, so the mystique surrounding sport has been exposed as a cloak of lies and corruption. Wolfgang Spitzner, general secretary of the East German soccer association, has confirmed that manipulation was used to help the first division league club, Dynamo East Berlin, the club of the secret police, to win a total of 13 league championships.



Skating on (thin) ice: Katarina Witt and number one fan Honecker in the good old days. (Photo: dpa)

Then there was the notorious ice-hockey case. At the beginning of the 1970s, the DTSB paid players in a national team taking part in a B-level world championship to lose and thus avoid being promoted to A level. This was because at the end of the 1960s, the decision had been taken to withdraw subsidies from certain sports at certain international levels.

Then there was the mystery over the suicide of Franz Rydz, a vice-president of the DTSB responsible for finance caused after 221,000 marks in West currency was found in his desk drawer. The origin of the money was not known. Eichler, DTSB president, says: "Apart from health and family problems, there were some irregularities in the way cash was handled."

The fact that medication was paid for out of illegal accounts reveals something about doping in sport. The press have for the first time now been allowed into the central doping control laboratory at Kreischa.

The newspaper, *Deutsche Sportecho*, said: "We trod on terra incognita..." But here, the curtains of silence around this taboo theme are being torn away bit by bit. In the Olympic year of 1988, it has now been admitted there were 14 cases drug-taking by East German competitors. This official admission is the beginning of a careful opening up.

So, where to now? Swimmer Matthes predicts: "There will be an enormous downhill run. The DTSB is having a rough time in the changeover to the new order. Eichler has survived the first cleaning of the stables. Even newly elected members of the DTSB secretariat are being described by the opposition group New Forum as "old serving SED (Socialist Unity Party) functionaries at the controls of the old apparatus of power."

The 15 small sports organisations which had been stifled to the point where they had virtually no significance at all, are demanding compensation — and Eichler grants them that. All that remains is a decision on what this means in terms of money.

Professionalism has been officially ruled out, even though the East German handball team will receive 200,000 marks during a tournament in West Germany for wearing the logo of a West German department store chain on its jerseys. They had demanded 300,000 marks. The speed-skating association is allowing its members to be outfitted by a Japanese supplier — which is paying 100,000 dollars for the privilege.

Self-financing is the cry, but that is something only the successful can do. It isn't going to change structures very much. It has been now admitted that in 1989 the DTSB received 330 million marks from state coffers.

But, in the future an advertising agency is meant to be ensuring that its takings go up by at least 70 million marks. DTSB vice-president Werner Neumann says: "East German sport has sold itself too cheaply in the past."

Whoever wants to go to the West can. Sporting contacts between Germany and Germany are set to become routine. The plan thought up by former President Reagan as a publicity gag, that the Olympic Games could be held in both parts of Berlin in 2000 or 2004, has become a realistic aim on both sides.

New Forum (the main opposition citizens' group in East Germany) welcomes the idea because, says spokesman Harold Tünnemanns, the Games represent a new attraction in a situation where there is otherwise a shortage of motivation. German-German involvement in the Olympics was last a fact in 1960 and 1964, and the idea for it once again to happen is being worked on again in the West. Wolfgang Schäuble, Bonn Interior Minister, said in Cologne recently that he would rather have one Olympic team from two states than two teams from two states.

Foreigners look on with horror: "The sporting power would be colossal," cried the French sports paper, *L'Equipe*. And if the medals from the Seoul Olympics are added together (East Germany 102, West Germany 40), the result is a sporting mammoth. Canada's IOC vice-president, Richard Pound: "A devil of a team."

Peter Stützer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 9 December 1989)

Continued from page 13

the question of hereditary predisposition. He believes that the whether someone is likely to get cancer or not depends on genetic material.

At least with respect to skin and lung cancer there is no doubt that there is a predisposition in certain families.

As Rüdiger explains there are plenty of smokers who never get lung cancer, even though they have smoked the darkest tobacco for years.

Nature has simply given them particularly reparable genetic material.

There are also enough people who can lie in the sun for hours on end without suffering from sunburn, whereas others develop the first signs of skin cancer if exposed to the same irradiation.

Researchers are currently working at full stretch to decipher the biochemical mechanisms for these developments.

Once they have done so cancer research will have made a great step forward.

We may then be able to tackle environmental pollutants more effectively.

Annette Bopp

(Die Welt, Bonn, 11 December 1989)

Continued from page 14

rorists. When an Italian terrorist was arrested files were found giving details of the director of a Deutsche Bank branch in Essen. The RAF members who are in prison were only mentioned in passing and their hunger strick in the spring was not mentioned at all.

It is true that there are no statements from the prisoners criticising the murder of Alfred Herrhausen. Unlike in the spring they no longer speak for the group.

In the note, referring to the "ideas for the process of change" it is mentioned that "the prisoners must take part in the discussion about this, because the extermination process against them must be stopped, and we must fight for them to be brought together and for their freedom."

During the hunger strick in spring it seemed that the prisoners were the leaders. At the end of Ocrtober their spokesman Helmut Pohl wrote: "It should be clear that the matter is closed: the chanceswe had in this matter are past — in this respect we had taken the initiative for the others at this time".

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 December 1989)